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## *The Jesuits and the Dreyfus Case.*

ONE would be glad to keep the pages of THE MONTH free from all reference to a case so beset by the storms of human passion as the Dreyfus case. There is, however, a persistent attempt to fasten the responsibility for it, and for the anti-Semitic campaign connected with it, upon the Society of Jesus, and that naturally is a feature in the case which we cannot view with unconcern. It does not follow that we should say anything in self-defence. For three hundred years and more the Jesuits have had experience of similar charges malevolently laid at their door and actively prosecuted, by parties and syndicates able and resolved to deny them the hearing in their own defence which is admitted to be the inalienable right of other men. The result is that they have become weary of the effort of resistance, and prone—too prone, perhaps—to consider that their best course is to meet their accusers with silence, trusting for their justification to God who can see into their hearts, and, so far as this world goes, to the many well-disposed persons, whether Catholics or otherwise, who judge them not from the representations of enemies, but from personal intercourse with themselves.

"We are the simplest people in the world, if the world would only believe it," were the words said to the present writer when trying to decide his vocation, by a well-known English Jesuit, now dead. The words express the exact truth, as that portion of the world which does know us personally will bear witness. Our work is purely spiritual. We preach and administer sacraments; we teach in our schools and colleges, to those young people whom their parents confide to us, the elements of Catholic faith and practice, and of human learning; we study and write according to our abilities and opportunities, in defence and in exposition of the Catholic faith in all its branches, and under all its aspects; and we try to keep well before our minds that the minister of Christ is adapted to be Christ's instrument

for the good of others in proportion as he strives to be faithful and generous in the affair of his own spiritual life. In these various labours we do not mix ourselves up with politics, but endeavour to do our work in peace and quiet, asking nothing of the State save to be left in enjoyment of the liberty granted to our neighbours. It is in the consciousness that their work is of this kind, and is known to be such by the many who are acquainted with them, that our French Fathers have not cared to rebut the numerous and violent charges made against the Society in connection with the Dreyfus case. In France neither those who know them, nor those who accuse them, believe in charges so palpably absurd; and the great outlying class who do not know them, and give credit to their accusers, are far too impassioned to listen to the voice of reason.

In England things are somewhat different. The attempt to implicate the Society has been brought over by Mr. Frederick Conybeare in his *Dreyfus Case*, by Mr. Barlow in his *History of the Dreyfus Case*, and by M. Yves Guyot in the *Nineteenth Century* for January. These writers merely repeat the charges which no intelligent person takes seriously on the other side of the Channel, and our first inclination was to leave them alone, as the French Jesuits have done. But we are told by Catholic friends that there are persons in this country, and people of the class whose good opinion we should be sorry to lose, who are impressed by the accusations as set forth in the pages of the above-mentioned writers, and consider it a significant fact that they meet with no protest or refutation from us. It seems desirable, therefore, to submit the accusations to a brief examination, and this is what we now proceed to do, premising, however, that we do not address ourselves to the hopeless task of convincing fanatics who see Jesuits everywhere, and require no proofs as supports for their prejudices. We address only Catholics, and through them all such persons as have open minds for the truth, and have some conception of the difference between sound and spurious evidence, between proofs and mere assertions.

Let us begin by hearing what Mr. Conybeare has to say—for we may confine ourselves to him, M. Yves Guyot and Mr. Barlow having added nothing of any consequence to what is in his pages.

"The institutions," he tells us, "which cram young men for

the army, are mainly in the hands of the Jesuits," the reason being that "the corps of officers is chiefly recruited from among the royalist and aristocratic families, which are rigidly Catholic and devout." "The most considerable of these schools has its premises in the Rue des Postes, and M. Odelin, the administrator of it, also administers, with the help of a committee of Jesuits, the *Libre Parole*, a journal edited by Edouard Drumont," the recognized leader of anti-Semitism. The Jesuits, we are given to understand, being themselves animated by a fanatical desire to see the Jews exterminated, communicate this evil spirit to their pupils, with the result that the army has become infected with it; "its moral unity has been destroyed, . . . [the Jesuits] instructing their pupils to blackball Jews, and, we may add, Protestants as well."<sup>1</sup> It would only be in keeping with this policy that the Jesuits should endeavour to ruin a Jewish officer attached to the Head-Quarter Staff, and they got the chance when the Dreyfus case came on in 1894. The several Ministers for War, and the *personnel* of the Etat Major, were all their pupils, and under their thumbs, and it was not difficult to make such pupils condemn a man whom they knew to be innocent, when the chance was offered of expelling from the army a member of the hated race. Later, when suspicions began to form and to grow, that the trial had been irregularly conducted, and was, in fact, a mere plot of the instruments of the Jesuits, the latter felt that they must "stake all upon the guilt of Dreyfus and the innocence of Esterhazy;" and accordingly instigated their paid agents, M. Drumont, of the *Libre Parole*, M. Rochefort, of the *Intransigent*, and other journalists, to mix the Dreyfus case up with a general campaign against the Jews, and so prevent justice being done and light cast on their dark machinations. On this view of the secret causes of the present agitation, we are further given to understand that one individual Jesuit is behind the visible agents of the campaign, pulling the strings. This individual Jesuit is Père du Lac, at one time Rector of the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 6, 7. By way of confirming the probability of this account (and of discovering to us his own value as a witness to facts), Mr. Conybeare here mentions an undergraduate recollection of his own. About twenty years ago, "Father Humbert, the Oxford Jesuit," at a breakfast party at Balliol College, when the conversation turned upon Italian unity, "lost his temper, and exclaimed, 'Oh, if I could only have the civil government in my hands for six months! I would hedge round Jews and Protestants like yourselves, and stamp you out.'" Father Humphrey must have been the Jesuit intended, and his comment on this veracious story is: "Mr. Conybeare's recollection of my words is about as accurate as his recollection of my name."

School of St. Geneviève, in the Rue des Postes, but now engaged in other Parisian work. Mr. Conybeare is temperate at least to this extent, that he only once mentions Père du Lac's name. His colleague, Mr. Barlow, on the other hand, can write of him and others like this: "The France that to-day lies through Cavaignac, quibbles through Brunetière, and preaches religious massacre, like Père Didon [a Dominican] and Père du Lac, is none the less the France that thundered through the Revolution, and, to use Danton's magnificent expression, for freedom's sake, when the Kings and old maddened tyrannies of the world surrounded and menaced her, 'flung in their faces the head of a King.'" We give the finish of this grandiloquent sentence, as it affords an opportunity of testing the measure of Mr. Barlow. Evidently he is not above "preaching massacre" himself.

This is the gist of Mr. Conybeare's indictment. It is, as we have noticed, an indictment which seems to have impressed a certain number of people. Let us see, then, what are its claims to be well founded.

We do not wish to discuss the rights and wrongs of the Dreyfus case itself. If the condemned man is innocent, we hope his innocence may be established; if he is guilty, there is no reason why we should desire his release; and in either hypothesis we could wish that the inquiry might be disengaged from all considerations of pro-Semitic and anti-Semitic propagandism. By which side these considerations have been imported into it is a question on which we shall have a word to say before we finish, but it is obvious that the way in which they have affected it is an unmixed evil. Whether the Jew or the Catholic be the more worthy of our sympathies, there are at least enough Catholics and enough Jews in the world to make it possible and probable that some of them will commit disgraceful crimes, and some of them suffer from miscarriages of justice. But whether this particular act of treason has been committed, and if committed whether the traitor has been Dreyfus or another, cannot be prudently decided on the evidences which seem to satisfy Mr. Conybeare and Mr. Barlow, and indeed the mass of English journalists and readers. These people give us only the party presentment of one side, and that a very rabid one, based largely on the "revelations" of a section of French journals and their correspondents, which are taken as authentic merely on the ground that they are not formally

denied by the authorities concerned. The only solid foundation for a judgment is the full evidence taken and tested in court, and that is not before us. In its absence—if we must hazard a judgment on a trial conducted in another country, and under a judicial system materially differing from our own—the best thing we can do is to go by the likelihood of the judges having been competent and impartial, or the contrary. And here it seems to us there is much more to say for the attitude of the anti-Dreyfusards than English critics are willing to allow.

As regards the investigation in the Cour de Cassation, we may help ourselves by a parallel. It is all very well to say that this Court has a venerable history and honourable traditions, and that its *personnel* should accordingly be trusted implicitly to seek the truth and that only. But if some Ritualistic question were to come into an English court, and Lord Grimthorpe were to be appointed the Presiding Judge, with Sir William Harcourt or Mr. Kensit under him to perform functions like those of a French *juge d'instruction*—would the High Churchmen be likely to accept a trial so conducted (especially if secret) as sure to be impartial, and would there not rather be a general feeling that persons thus committed by their antecedents to one side of the controversy had better not have been selected to be the judges? Yet the Dreyfus case has, through the fault of whichever side, grown into just such a party case, in which far reaching issues, beyond that of the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus, are involved, and in which it is of supreme importance that the judges should be men of open mind. The papers which protest against MM. Loew and Bard being the judges, point to the antecedents of these two gentlemen as rendering them suspect of *parti pris*. We will not quote what these papers say, for we are quite incapable of forming a judgment of our own on the reasonableness of their opinion. All we contend for is that, if the adverse party are strongly impressed with the belief that these two judges are thus biassed by their antecedents, it is not so unnatural that they should protest as they have done, and we in England have no right to assume that their protest argues a mere guilty consciousness that their own cause is bad.

On the other hand, as regards the original Dreyfus trial itself. The same critics who find it simply shocking to question the impartiality of the Cour de Cassation just because it is a Court of Judicature, have no scruple whatever in bringing general charges, not merely of incompetence but of barefaced villainy,

against the Conseils de Guerre and the various Generals, War Ministers, and Judges, who have had to take action in regard to this trial or its developments. But, again, let us help ourselves with a parallel. If in this country it were suggested by a class of violent partisans, that Lord Wolseley, Sir Evelyn Wood, Lord Roberts, Lord Lansdowne, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Morley, and others, had conspired together to condemn an English officer for treason whilst knowing perfectly well that he was innocent, what should we think of the charge? Should we not deem it preposterous? It is just possible, though not likely, we might say, that they have all been mistaken, but it is quite inconceivable that they can have all acted with conscious unfairness. Yet the names of Generals Mercier, Billot, de Boisdeffre, de Pellieux, Zurlinden, and Gonse, and of MM. Meline, Cavaignac, and Freycinet—men differing greatly in their attitudes towards politics and religion, and who have addressed themselves to the case just because it came before them in the regular course of their official work—stand as high in France as those named do in England.

These few observations on the Dreyfus case itself we have permitted ourselves, on account of its relation to the charge made against the French Jesuits. But, as we have said, our present concern is not whether Dreyfus is guilty or innocent, but whether the French Jesuits are responsible for the way in which his case has been conducted.

Nor, again, do we wish to discuss the general question of anti-Semitism, but only to examine the grounds on which it is alleged that the Jesuits are behind the anti-Semitic movement, animating it and conducting it in the spirit of fierce hatred they are supposed to cherish for the children of Israel. Nevertheless, here also we may permit ourselves a brief observation, since, when the true nature of the movement is recognized, its disconnectedness with the objects to which the Jesuits have consecrated their lives, points to the huge improbability of their having wished to take part in its conduct.

The movement is not religious, but social and financial. That it is not religious is surely evidenced by the character of those who take part in it. Of the journals which head it, whatever may be said of the *Libre Parole*, the *Eclair* and the *Intransigeant* are both virulently anti-Catholic. And—

Upon the anti-Semitic platform stand the most diversified elements—Ultramontanes, Freethinkers, Radicals, even, as it now proves, a

considerable fraction of the Protestant population. They may be totally at variance with one another in matters of religion, politics, and economics, but they are firmly of a mind on one proposition, and that is that "the Jew must go." Numerically the Jew forms one five-hundredth part of the population of France. By fair or foul means, but particularly by the latter, say the anti-Semites, he has secured possession of a quarter of the personal property of the country—twenty milliards of francs out of eighty. (The figures are taken from the neutral *Matin*). He controls the markets, and owns the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. He now desires to secure control of the army, but this will prove the rock against which his ambitions will be dashed to pieces! so sayeth the anti-Semite.

This is the summary of M. Gribayedoff, "the brilliant American artist," with which he prefaces an interview with M. Drumont, published in the *Review of Reviews*.<sup>1</sup> We may complete the picture by some extracts from his letter addressed to M. Felix Cohen in 1888, and from a *brochure* he published in 1890.<sup>2</sup>

I have discussed an economical and a social question. I have found that certain colossal fortunes founded on speculation and the creation of monopolies, were not only out of all proportion to the amount of labour bestowed, but, on the contrary, constituted an illicit sweeping up of the savings of the true workers and the real producers.

What we have said is, that since 1871, the German Jews have invaded our unfortunate country, and that they are making it their prey, that we find them everywhere, and that they are our masters everywhere.

What we have said is, that the High Bank has subjected France to a vast system of exploitation. First it swept up all the small savings with the aid of that class of companies which ruin their shareholders and enrich their promoters. Now it is attacking all the things necessary for industry and for the existence of us all, the modest fund-holder in his savings, the labouring man in his workshop, the peasant at his plough. In fact, it has the cynicism to deny us the right to live. It is not we who say this, the facts themselves say it, or rather cry it out. To whatever side he turns, the workman, the small tradesman, the worker of every species, comes into collision with monopolies, financial coalitions, banking-syndicates, which crush him, and which to satisfy

<sup>1</sup> January, 1898, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> We take them from M. Edmond Picard's *Les Juifs et nos Contemporains*, pp. 39, &c., a series of extracts from different writers, some anti-Semite, some Semite. M. Picard very uncritically omits to give more precise references, but the quotations are doubtless correct.



the insatiable avidity of a few, disturb the economic world and destroy the homes of all. Monopolies in wheat, monopolies in kitchen-utensils, monopolies in petroleum, monopolies in butcher's-meat, monopolies in oil. . . .

Against the notion that he desires to wage a religious war, M. Drumont has continually protested. Thus in the letter to M. Cohen he writes :

You will be told that our campaign against the Jewish speculators is a religious campaign. This is absolutely false. I have a hundred times over challenged the Jews to find in my books an attack on a single rabbi or a single ceremony of their worship. They have never found one. It is true that the Jewish press, with its accustomed astuteness, has striven to change the subject of controversy and transform into a question of religious creed, a question which is purely economical and social. This is the ordinary tactics of the Semites. Unable to reply to what we say against them, they find it more simple to refute loudly and with feigned indignation what we have never said. In the name of my rights as a citizen, I have attacked this monstrous organizer of monopolies, the banker of the Triple Alliance ; but I have never written a single line which could wound the faith of the last Jew from Galicia. As for the domain of a man's private conception of life, of the mystery of the vast universe, let each explain it as he will. Beliefs lie outside all discussion, and he who conceals his own is a coward, whilst he who attacks those of others is a criminal. My most determined enemies themselves have never accused me of concealing my own beliefs, and I declare that I have never attacked those of others. . . . If the good genius of our country is with us, and wishes that we should become the masters, we will shut up only one synagogue, and that only as a measure of public security—the synagogue of the Bourse. It is then a pure sophism to mix up the religious question with the economic question.

We shall have occasion presently to quote a similar passage from the answers given to Mr. Stead's interviewer, and others of the same kind from the *Libre Parole* could be multiplied.

The intention with which we make these citations from M. Drumont must not be misunderstood. We are not quoting him with approval, for we have no sympathy with his extravagant spirit and unjust generalizations. We count it cruel and unchristian to class all Jews together, and visit with animosity the whole race and each individual member of it, on account of the methods pursued by a portion of their numbers. We are pained too at the gross charges of ritual inhumanity which he and others can make on the faith of palpably spurious



evidence. On this point, however, THE MONTH has had occasion to speak and to record its protest in a former article,<sup>1</sup> and we need not enlarge on it now. What we are concerned with at present is M. Drumont's contention, in which he is joined by the other leaders of anti-Semitism, that this movement is not religious but social and financial in its aims.

Being such, it is not perhaps so unintelligible as English people seem to imagine. The characters against which it is directed are the usurer and the "cornerer." Even in our own country we have bitter experience of the usurer, and we have lately had a Parliamentary Commission to examine into his ways, which are confessedly unlovely. All usurers are not of Jewish race, and it is due to Sir George Lewis to acknowledge the earnestness of his endeavours to suggest effective remedies for the evil. Still, the bare existence of such a common phrase as "falling into the hands of the Jews," testifies to the extent to which members of that race engage in these nefarious practices, and how they contrive, step by step, to enrich themselves by pauperizing others. In Russia, Poland, and Austria, this class of usurers is known to have been still more widely mischievous than in England; and anti-Semite movements have been the consequence. We have not that knowledge of France which entitles us to a judgment of our own, as to the extent to which the Jewish usurer has sucked out of the small proprietor his slender means; but at least there is a deep-rooted persuasion in France itself that this kind of devastation has been very general. It must be remembered, too, that France differs from England in being a country of small proprietors, rather than of landlords and tenants.

As regards the "cornerers," probably those whom M. Drumont is fond of calling the "great barons of finance," would not deny that their aim is to amass wealth by forming syndicates and obtaining the control of newspapers, with a view to practising on the money market, and creating monopolies. They would avow it and defend it as a lawful procedure, perhaps comparing it with the diplomatic and military operations by which sovereigns enlarge their dominions. These enormous gains must, however, come out of the pockets of others who are the victims of such talented speculations, nor is it wonderful that the victims should feel aggrieved, and that their wrath

<sup>1</sup> THE MONTH, June, 1898.

should sooner or later boil over into indignant agitations. It must be recollected too that, though they have been forgotten in England, the *Union Generale* failure in 1882, and the Panama collapse in 1892, are vividly present to the minds of many in France. Capital stored up in banks is power, and the Catholics of France some sixteen years ago, chafed under the knowledge that French banking was practically a Jewish monopoly. They determined, therefore, to found a joint-stock bank of their own in which they could place their investments, and this bank was called the *Union Generale*. Perhaps it was foolish of them to think they could compete in such a field, but they secured a skilful manager, and for a time were enjoying a good success. The invasion of their monopoly was, however, resented by the Jewish bankers, who accordingly bought up all their paper and presented it all for payment at the same hour. An account of this transaction is given in the *Libre Parole* for Jan. 4, 1899, which, we are informed, has been pronounced correct by the late Vice-President of the *Union Generale*. This Company undertook to meet the demand if allowed three days' respite, but the respite was refused, and an immediate declaration of bankruptcy was obtained through the interposition of a magistrate, the magistrate, according to the account referred to, allowing himself to be guided by a hostile statement of the available assets, which, as soon as the catastrophe had been precipitated, was at once cast aside as incorrect. The failure of the *Union Generale* spelt ruin for a multitude of Frenchmen who have not forgotten the fact, or the corresponding fact that it spelt vast gain to their monopolist conquerors. The Panama collapse was a big catastrophe of a similar kind. It spelt ruin to multitudes—much larger multitudes than in the other case, inasmuch as the ruined contributors in this instance belonged to a poorer and more numerous class—and whilst it spelt ruin to them, spelt enrichment to others, and among them to M. Reinach, a gentleman of Jewish descent, who, it is said, bequeathed the greater portion of the wealth acquired by the transaction to his nephew, M. Joseph Reinach. It is the latter who is just now prominent in the Dreyfus case, as the man who accuses Colonel Henry of having forged, not merely a document composed long after the Dreyfus trial, but the documents themselves on which the conviction of Captain Dreyfus was based. This his hereditary relation to the Panama catastrophe explains, what is so unintelligible to

English readers, the special bitterness with which M. Joseph Reinach is regarded by the anti-Semites of the present hour.

This outline description of the present situation in France demonstrates sufficiently that no theory of Jesuit instigation is needed to account for the facts, and as for Mr. Conybeare's endeavour to recommend that theory in England by reproducing the reckless assertions of French Radical prints, the Count Albert de Mun's admirable letter in the *Times*,<sup>1</sup> has simply blown it to bits. Indeed, after the Count's letter, which had not appeared when we began to write, we might pass over this point altogether, though it is the point we have had chiefly in view. Letters in the *Times*, however, are kept alive through their after-use by other writers, and for completeness' sake we must deal with Mr. Conybeare's assumption briefly. We call it an assumption, for his readers cannot have failed to notice how little he has to offer in its support. That little is reducible to the following two points.

1. The military authorities under whom the trial of Dreyfus was first instituted, and by whom his case is still persistently treated as a *chose jugée*, were all former pupils of the Jesuits.

To this the Count replies :

I might also take exception to many other allegations of Mr. Conybeare's. He represents the Etat Major of our army as exclusively composed of former pupils of the Jesuits. In regard to this legend I might tell him that not a single one of the former pupils of the Jesuits figured on the Etat Major Particulier of General de Boisdeffre, and that out of the 180 officers who composed the Etat Major Général there were last year hardly as many as nine or ten belonging to that category; moreover that these officers are chosen exclusively from among the first twelve in the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre, admission to which school is by competitive examination. I might also reveal to this well-informed writer that of the officers concerned in the Dreyfus case not one has been brought up by the Jesuits, neither General Mercier any more than General Gonse or General Pellieux, nor Colonel Henry any more than Lieutenant-Colonel du Paty de Clam, nor Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart any more than Commandant Esterhazy. Lastly, I might tell him that if General de Boisdeffre spent two years in the Jesuit school of Vaugirard, in Paris, he passed eight years at the Lycée of Alençon, the last two of which being those allotted to his preparation for the Ecole de St. Cyr. And then I might claim the right to ask him how, by what means, in what precise

<sup>1</sup> *Times*, Jan. 17, 1899.

way, the Jesuits have contrived to exercise and to manifest in the Etat Major of our army that predominant influence, thanks to which they have known how to prepare and manage all this Dreyfus case during these four years past.

For my part I affirm that they have nothing whatever to do with it.

Count de Mun does not include the names of Billot, Cavaignac, Zurlinden, Chanoine, and Freycinet, but neither has any one of these passed through the hands of any Jesuit instructors. Moreover, Freycinet is a Protestant, and Cavaignac is a strong Radical. Of the entire list, Generals de Boisdeffre and Zurlinden are the only two, unless we are misinformed, who would call themselves in any distinct sense Catholic. We have no further particulars about Zurlinden, but General de Boisdeffre is said by his adversaries to be on intimate terms with Père du Lac. If he is, what is the harm of that? Any one who will take the slightest pains to ascertain from his Catholic acquaintances what kind of relations a Catholic public man can have with his priest-friends, or even with his confessors, will learn that such relations do not include subjecting his own judgment to theirs in regard to the matters, secret or otherwise, of his public employment. We can imagine what a Catholic Postmaster General would reply to a priest who should have the impudence, which none could have, to strive through him to direct the administration of the General Post Office. And the same may be said of General de Boisdeffre and Père du Lac. Père du Lac would be the last man in the world to pry into the official secrets of a Commander-in-Chief, and General de Boisdeffre would have been the last to permit of such an intrusion—for, let us take this opportunity of saying it, those who know General de Boisdeffre, know him to be a man of conspicuously high and honourable character, and absolutely incapable of the iniquities imputed to him by reckless partisans of the stamp of Mr. Conybeare.

2. Mr. Conybeare's second argument to prove Jesuit complicity, is that the *Libre Parole* is a recognized Jesuit organ. "M. Odelin, the administrator of the Ecole S. Geneviève in the Rue des Postes, also administers with the help of a Committee of Jesuits, the *Libre Parole*, a journal edited by Edouard Drumont." The School of St. Geneviève, familiarly called the Rue des Postes, is the school which for many years has been so successful in preparing candidates for admission at the Military

School of St. Cyr, and the Polytechnique. In former days it was entirely under the management of the Jesuits, but is now under an administrative council, of which the Count de Mun is the president. As for M. Odelin, he occupied this position for a few years, but vacated it as far back as 1890, and vacated it because of a difference of views as to its management which had arisen between himself and his colleagues. The *Libre Parole* was not founded till 1892. Moreover, although it is true that he advanced money for the founding of M. Drumont's paper, we are informed that not long after they disagreed and parted. With these facts before them, English readers will perhaps not consider M. Odelin a very satisfactory link by which to connect the Society of Jesus with M. Drumont's journalism; and they will be the less inclined to disbelieve Count de Mun when he tells them, that in France, "the assertion . . . that the *Libre Parole* is an organ of the Jesuits, only makes people laugh, and probably no one more so than M. Drumont himself." It is, therefore, only for their interest that we cite the words of M. Drumont himself, who in reply to M. Gribayedoff's question, "whether his campaign was backed by the Ultramontanes, the Jesuits, and certain dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church,"<sup>1</sup> said:

Take this down word for word. These statements are pure inventions. . . . Anti-Semitism is an economic not a religious war. In our ranks you will find men of every religious belief, also Atheists and Agnostics. As to the Church dignitaries or the Jesuits being interested in our movement, I know absolutely nothing about that. I have no personal acquaintance, no relations with any Cardinal, Bishop, or Jesuit. I never see any, and in fact, the higher clergy are rather inimical towards the movement. They are the servants of the Jews as much as our magistrates and politicians. If we have any friends among the hierarchy it is in the lower ranks. The poor village *curé*—who receives a miserable pittance from the Government, and is treated like a lackey in return—being in touch with the masses and understanding their needs and their troubles, naturally wishes us success. No, we are not clericals.

This is exactly what M. de Mun says:

Mr. Conybeare believes that the anti-Semitic movement has for its prime authors the representatives of the Catholic Church; the Bishops, the clergy, the religious congregations, and particularly the Jesuits. This is a complete error. They stand altogether outside it. Most

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 119.

of these give it a cold welcome, many of them extend to it but scant sympathy, for which they have often incurred the reproach of M. Drumont.<sup>1</sup>

To these testimonies of others we must add our own. It is necessary, because if it were omitted our assailants would be sure to claim the omission as significant. We declare therefore, after having been at the pains to inform ourselves fully of the matter, that the French Jesuits have taken absolutely no part in the movements now agitating France. They are Frenchmen, and as individuals have their opinions on matters of current interest in their country, and they may at times express themselves thereon as outside critics. They are not open to censure for this, whether their opinions be sound or exaggerated. But it is not their *métier* to take part in political movements or to join the staff of any political paper, and they have not done so. Nor have they sought to exercise any influence whatever on the course of the Dreyfus trial. Particularly we assert this of Père du Lac, in spite of the confident assertions to the contrary—never accompanied by proofs or even the show of proofs—which are poured out daily by the Radical press. Mr. Barlow, we have seen, has now the downright wickedness to accuse him of "preaching massacre," in which enormity he is faithfully reflecting the coarse libels of the less respectable French papers.<sup>2</sup> Those who know Père du

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Oswald T. Simon, in his letter to the *Times* of Jan. 20, comments on this last sentence as follows: "These last words can only be compared with the observations which some Catholics make when they attempt to defend the Inquisition. They always assert that the Church never burnt the Jews in Spain, but that it merely handed them over to the secular authority, who burnt them." The meaning of these words is not very clear, and the "some Catholics" alluded to would hardly accept the description of their views. But what Mr. Simon seems to suggest is that, according to Count de Mun, the "Bishops . . . and Jesuits," though personally they stand out of the anti-Semitic movement, secretly approve of it all the same. Surely this is a most uncalled-for deduction from M. de Mun's words. "To give a cold welcome" and "to show scant sympathy," are phrases meaning to show the opposite of welcome and sympathy. And this is what the Count says most of the Bishops and clergy (Jesuits included) have done. The Count says, "most of them," "many of them," for, as M. Drumont himself claims, some, chiefly country *curés*, do sympathize with the movement.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the *Journal de Seine et Oise* (January 4) describes him with Père Didon as crying out for "blood, blood, more blood still, and heads to cut off." The *Petite République*, January 3, circulates a drawing representing Père du Lac, with de Boisdeffre prostrate at his feet, saying, "I bless you, my son. And now, rise up for the glory of God and the extermination of the enemies of the Church." The *Anticlerical* represents Père du Lac, together with Père Didon, the Dominican, and Père Picard, the Assumptionist, as holding each a dagger in his hand, trampling on the bodies of slain women, and crying out, "Slay, slay, God will recognize His own."

Lac, and he has many English as well as French friends, both Catholic and non-Catholic, know him to be the gentlest and kindest of men, quite incapable of harming any one—be he Jew, Turk, infidel, or heretic—and one whose time is mostly absorbed in just that class of charitable works which approve themselves to the English people.

In making the above quotations to vindicate the Society of Jesus, we have implicitly vindicated as well the Catholic clergy generally. They "extend but scanty sympathy" to the movement, says Count de Mun; "the higher clergy are rather inimical towards the movement," says M. Drumont;<sup>1</sup> and the member of his staff who comments on Count de Mun's recent letter complains in true anti-Semitic style that "the Bishops seem to be too much absorbed in another occupation to think of the freeing the land from the Jewish race," that other occupation being the pursuit of "an ambition to marry the descendants of some aristocrat or other with the heiresses whose fathers come from Frankfort." Surely this should satisfy those who fear lest the Church of France may have compromised herself in this matter; for, although on the surface it may sound reasonable to demand that the Bishops should publicly denounce the excesses of anti-Semitism, it is not so clear on reflection that this would be their best course. To begin with, it is very difficult for French Bishops to make any public allusions to current politics without incurring the indignation of the civil authorities. Again, if they are to protest, against what are they to protest? Not, surely, against the substance of anti-Semitism, if it be true, or if they are persuaded it is true, that it is in substance an outcry against the usurer and the cornerer. And if not against the substance of the movement, against what? There are indeed most shocking sentiments expressed in some of the entries in M. Drumont's subscription lists. But do they come from persons with whom the exhortations of a bishop would be of any avail? Is there any evidence at all of a

And the *Anticlerical*, be it observed, is praised for its work and called "our valiant contemporary" by the *Aurore*, a paper with which M. Yves Guyot of the *Siècle* often expresses his sympathy, and which M. Zola chose as the vehicle for the publication of his *f'acuse*. This *Aurore* itself has an uncalled-for suggestion so unclean that an English paper would certainly be prosecuted for printing it. These four illustrations of what is going on every day may be useful in revealing to English readers the true quality of the anti-Jesuit propagandism with which Mr. Barlow and Mr. Conybeare are associating themselves.

<sup>1</sup> *Libre Parole*, January 18.



disposition on the part of the practising Catholics to resort to Jew murder, or to ask for more than protection for themselves against oppression by others? In times of agitation, too, when various tendencies become confused together and entangled, such public denunciations usually issue in no other result save that of lending themselves to the misrepresentations of adversaries. Less public exhortations and private counsels are usually more effective in correcting the real abuses, so far as they can be corrected, and if English observers know that these are not given by the clergy at appropriate times, they know more than we do. It must be remembered too that in France as in England impressions gathered from newspapers as to the state of public feeling, are not always borne out by experience when you go out in the streets or the fields. From the French papers you might imagine that a person with Jewish features could not safely walk the streets. But, apart from occasional outbursts over unpopular lectures—a thing we are accustomed to in England—it would be hard to find any evidence of Jews being socially persecuted or ostracized, at all events by the good Catholics. We have made inquiries, too, and find that it is absolutely false to say, as Mr. Conybeare, following on M. Yves Guyot, has done, that the young Jewish students and officers are harassed and blackballed by the former pupils of the Jesuits, either at St. Cyr or in their after-life in the army. Such a policy was indeed directed for a long time by the anti-clericals against the Jesuit pupils, and probably would be so directed still, if they could have their way, but the Jesuit pupils have had no thought of following so hateful an example. The counsel they receive from their former masters is, whilst boldly and openly practising their own religion, and keeping themselves free from all sinful suggestions, to meet their companions as far as ever they can in a friendly and conciliatory spirit.

It is clear, the reader may say, that the Jesuits are in no way responsible for the agitation now going on, but how are we to account for so persistent an endeavour to fix the responsibility upon them? This is the important point which lies at the root of the whole matter, and it must be elucidated if we are to understand adequately the present situation. With a true instinct, the enemies of the Church have endeavoured during the last two decades not only to withdraw the education of the young from all Catholic influences, but even to surround it with anti-Christian influences of the bitterest kind. At a



recent distribution of prizes in some Catholic College, General Michaud terminated his address to the students with the exclamation: *Vive Dieu! Vive la France!* The *Petite République* forthwith takes scandal. "The exclamation is significant," it says, "God comes before France." Here in a nutshell is the contrast between the spirit of the Catholic schoolroom, and the spirit in which its adversaries desire to see the youth of France brought up. To aid them in their object, these adversaries built up and financed their Lycées at a considerable expense to the tax-payer, whilst the "Congregational schools" have not only been left to their own resources, but have been hampered by the Ferry decrees and various unjust regulations. The Catholic teachers know that they exist on sufferance, liable to progressive exactions and sudden expulsions, but still the parents send them their children in increasing numbers. They educate as much as one-half of the youth of France, and in many places the schools are full, and the Lycées are deserted. Nor is it the practising Catholics only who prefer the "Congregational" schools for their offspring. "If the houses of the religious," says the *Petit Republicain d'Aube*,<sup>1</sup> "had no other *clientèle* than families who are Catholic at heart and firmly attached to clerical teaching, a good half of them would find it hard to subsist. . . . 'I have no religion,' the father of a family said to me lately, 'but I have put my son with the Fathers. I am told their house is excellent in every way.'" "The *bourgeoisie*," says *Le Progrès* of Lyons,<sup>2</sup> "formerly Liberal, and Voltairian under Louis Philippe, finds it fashionable now-a-days to maintain a clerical and reactionary tone, . . . and it is to the Church schools it sends its children." A class of parents of which one would have still less expected it, often show the same striking preference for the schools of the Religious Congregations. "Amongst the fierce adversaries of the Congregations who are in the Chamber (of Deputies)," says the *Journal de Rouen*,<sup>3</sup> "are to be found Deputies, many times pointed out by the Press, as having their sons and daughters in the schools of the Religious Orders, and thinking to excuse themselves on the pretext of domestic considerations, such as, good apostles that they are, they are unwilling to recognize in the case of their opponents."

If it were not for the petty persecution sure to descend on the government functionaries who abound throughout France,

<sup>1</sup> December 2, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> November 23, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> November 24, 1898.

perhaps the Lycées would suffer a still further diminution of the pupils for whose sake they have been erected. And yet functionaries at times are willing to encounter the risk of offending their official superiors and getting their *dossiers* marked for "hostility to the institutions of the country," rather than lose for their children what they deem the superior advantages of the Congregational schools.

What is said of the schools generally is true and is specially noticeable in the Rue des Postes, which prepares for the Polytechnique and the Military School of St. Cyr, and in similarly famous Catholic schools, like the Collège Stanislas at Paris. Though the Lycées are able to give an excellent preparation, a great partiality is shown by parents for these Catholic schools, which are also remarkably successful in their candidates, the Rue des Postes—if some figures recently quoted in the Chambers are correct—contributing a tenth part to the yearly accessions of pupils to the Military College.

The effect of this Catholic education, so courageously maintained in the teeth of obstacles, has begun to make itself appreciably felt in the country, and has even overflowed into the Lycées, in many of which teachers may now be found who can sympathize with the Catholic feelings of their pupils, and perhaps are practising Catholics themselves. To confine ourselves to the army, there was a time not so many years ago, when it was morally impossible for a young student at the Military College to make open profession of his religion, without exposing himself to persecution and ridicule which, for young men, were almost unbearable. Now a more tolerant spirit prevails, and it is quite an ordinary thing for the religious-minded students to go to Mass in the college chapels, and even to go to Communion when they feel so disposed. If they are such during the period of their studies, it may be assumed, and is the case, that they continue so, generally speaking, in their after-life.

In spite of these pleasing symptoms, it cannot be said that the improvement has as yet acquired more than a firm footing on the once hostile territory. We have mentioned that the contribution from the Rue des Postes is alleged to be about one-tenth of the whole. What may be the proportion from the other Catholic colleges which prepare candidates, we do not know. Perhaps if we set down one-fifth as the proportion of the practising Catholics, we should be going much beyond the mark

Still these from their high character have influence over the rest, and the change wrought has become sufficiently marked to stir the bile of the enemies of God. How is this preference for the Catholic schools to be accounted for? they ask themselves. And their papers are continually suggesting explanations. It is exclusiveness and snobbery, say some. The children of the aristocrats shun the Lycées lest they should be contaminated by companions of a lower class, and those of the *parvenus* from the *bourgeoisie* wish for social intimacy with the aristocrats. It is because the Church is well organized, and through the clergy watches over the after-prospects of her faithful sons, so that to have been at the Rue des Postes or a similar school is an assurance of useful patronage and a successful career. It is because the Church has her touts who go about everywhere persuading and promising support, whilst those interested in the Lycées remain passive and indifferent. It is because the style of examination which the authorities stupidly prescribe, is one that requires memory work, which the Jesuits are good in preparing, rather than the brain work which thrives under the freer system of the Lycées. It is because the Jesuits have contrived a system of wholesale cheating whereby they are able to secure for their pupils a previous knowledge of the examination questions to be set. This last is the point of which Mr. Conybeare has made so much. The charge is one freely circulated in the Radical papers, where doubtless he obtained it without inquiry. But these papers have never cited more than two instances—one in 1898, one in 1876—and these two instances have been dealt with by the Count de Mun in a way which Mr. Conybeare will find it hard to refute.

Possibly a truer explanation of the facts which to the anti-Christian party are so perplexing, may be found in the relation of this party to the general body of the French people. Mr. Bodley, that careful observer, writes :

Under the Third Republic it is the minority which imposes its narrow policy on the majority. In the whole population there is not one person in a hundred who is an anti-religious bigot, and even among the men of France who form the electorate, the sectaries of freethought are a small minority, smaller than the clerical party of the other extreme. The great majority of Frenchmen are tolerant or indifferent: they resent ecclesiastical interference, but they have no sympathy with the zealots of anti-clericalism. But the latter in their masonic lodges, which are not mere convivial or charitable sodalities,

and their local committees are effectively organized, and are thus a potent influence in the government of the country. When we examine the Parliamentary system, we shall see that one sign of its unsuitability to the French temperament is that it invests with undue power a minority composed of the least worthy elements of the nation, this being a worse evil and more subversive of liberty than the regular delegation of authority to an autocratic government. Hence we have to observe the constraint laid by the minority on the representatives of the whole nation.<sup>1</sup>

If Mr. Bodley's appreciation is correct, it sufficiently explains the preference shown by French parents for the Congregational schools. Many of them are practising Catholics themselves, and others, if indifferent in their own lives, or yielding to the fear of petty persecution, still retain in their heart of hearts the fear of God and the faith of their fathers, and desire for their children better things than they allow themselves. Hence an increasing tendency to provide them with a Christian education.

But hence too the recrudescence of an active campaign on the part of the anti-clericals for the suppression of the Catholic schools altogether. They feel that, unless something is done, the religious reformation will continue to advance steadily. The only means of stopping it is by forcible measures. As to the precise form these should take, they are not agreed among themselves. The more violent would close the schools of the Religious altogether, and drive the Religious themselves out of the country. They feel that as long as the latter remain in France, their persevering zeal may still accomplish marvels. Others are a degree less intemperate, but claim that at least the candidates for Government service shall be brought up in the Government schools. If they can get a law passed, requiring that no candidate shall present himself for the admission examinations to the military and naval academies, and to the civil services, unless he has first spent four years of preparation in a Lycée, it seems to them that schools like the Collège Stanislas, and the Rue des Postes, will be forced to shut up of themselves.

It is this prospect of repealing wholly, or partially, the Falloux laws of 1850—the laws granting freedom of teaching—which, in the belief of most French Catholics, explains the present persistent attempt to hold the Church, and especially

<sup>1</sup> *France*, vol. i. p. 197.

the Society of Jesus, responsible for the anti-Semitic movement. The anti-clericals realize that it will not be so easy to press their measure through the Chamber. They have indeed already sent up a successful *ballon d'essai* in the Conseil de la Seine, and they made an interpellation in the Chamber of Deputies on Nov. 22, 1898. But their success in the Chamber was not great, and the scheme was hung up by a promise on the part of the Government to give the matter fuller consideration. The fact is, that many of those politicians who were formerly active promoters of the Ferry laws, have come to think them a nuisance, and would gladly be rid of them altogether. As the *Journal des Debats* put it quite recently (November 27th), in 1880 the attack on freedom of teaching was brought forward as a rallying-point round which all Republicans could muster. Now it presents itself as a source of division which will cleave the Republican party in twain. Evidently, under these circumstances, what the anti-clericals required was a strong wind to fill their sails, and the prospect of a revision of the Dreyfus trial offered itself to them as just the thing wanted.

At the time of the original trial neither racial nor religious conflicts had as yet fastened much upon the case. But in 1894, when the verdict of the Conseil de Guerre was challenged, that fierce outburst of anti-Clericalism and anti-Semitism ensued which has ever since afflicted the country, and rendered the course of impartial justice well-nigh impossible. Who then imported this baneful element into the case? "The Jesuits," say the anti-clericals, but we have seen that the Jesuits have not to this day taken part in the case. It is the belief of the Catholics that the anti-clericals themselves are the guilty parties. "We want a wind to fill our sails," these reasoned with themselves. "If we can only arouse a strong popular feeling against the Jesuits, it may enable us to force through the Chambers our measure for the closing of their schools. And what better opportunity could we have than this which is now afforded us? Let us circulate the suggestion that the Jesuits are animated by a blind hatred for the Jews, and that it is they who, under the influence of this hatred, instigated the officers on the Etat Major, their former pupils, to arrest and condemn an innocent man, just because he was a member of that race. We can develop the idea by further suggesting that this is but an incident in the course of a sustained policy which they pursue, in training their pupils to

ostracize their Jewish fellow-officers, until the unity of the army is broken up, and officers subjected to such a trial are fain to resign their commissions. If by concerting our efforts and forming a newspaper conspiracy we can keep up a daily torrent of anti-Jesuitism in this sense, we shall have a good chance of carrying our point, and M. Drumont, the *enfant terrible* of his party, together with the other anti-Semitic journalists, are sure to assist our purpose by the violence with which they will oppose us."

This, we believe, is the true inwardness of the present agitation, an agitation in which, if the personal issue of one man's guilt or innocence is strongly emphasized, and by the more quiet minds is keenly felt, by the great mass it is wholly subordinated to the question whether capital is or is not to be made out of it, to inflict another wound on the Catholic Church, and the cause of religious education. Noting how completely Mr. Conybeare seems to be in the councils of the Church's assailants across the Channel, we cannot but observe how this same spirit is observable in him. As M. de Mun says of his book: "Professing to be written in the sole interest of justice, it ends with a call to proscription." It begins with a protest against proscribing the Jews; it ends with a call to proscribe the Jesuits. As regards the personal issue, what with the secret character claimed for much of the evidence, and the impossibility of finding judges who will inspire confidence in all, it looks as if it could never reach a satisfactory termination. As regards the ulterior and wider issue, it is a serious question to know how it will work out, and we can only wait to see. The general feeling among the Catholics is, we notice, despondent, but it makes for their cause that the active desire to continue persecuting them is now confined mostly to the Radical and less respectable section of their opponents.

## *The Maker of Uppingham.*<sup>1</sup>

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WE gladly welcome the Life of the great schoolmaster of our generation. It is over eleven years since Mr. Thring's death, and it would not have been fair to an age so much in need of his example to leave it longer without the guidance that the *Life and Letters of Edward Thring* is able to afford it. On the other hand, it would have been a pity to publish the Life before. Prepossessions and prejudices would have made it difficult to secure a fair view of the whole career. It was a different thing with the short memoir published some years ago by Mr. Skrine, one of Thring's own training. This gave a more vivid sketch of the man than can be found in Mr. Parkin's memoir: it was a portrait drawn in strong outline by a pupil and a friend. But Mr. Parkin, though he has hardly succeeded in producing a great literary work, has arranged his materials in good order, and given us ample opportunity of knowing, from his own letters and journal, the man that he writes about, and of grasping the principles that guided him in life.

We propose in this article to give such a sketch of Thring's work as will be of value to those who are interested in educational questions. Many points which bring out the man will have to be passed over: his teaching methods cannot be brought out in the space available, but we hope to indicate with sufficient clearness Thring's ideal of what a school should be, and how he carried out this ideal at Uppingham.

Edward Thring belonged to a well-to-do family, and in due time was sent to Eton with a nomination as a collegier. In those days there were no competitions for these places; they were bespoken for their children by those who had least need of such help, but had influence to secure it. As a matter

<sup>1</sup> *Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham School: Life, Diary, and Letters.* By George R. Parkin. 2 vols. London: Macmillan.  
*A Memory of Edward Thring.* J. H. Skrine.  
*Uppingham by the Sea.* J. H. S.



of fact, a nomination was not difficult to obtain, as the life of a collegier was eminently undesirable. Boys who had nominations commonly entered as oppidans, and remained in this position till the time when the limit of age for entry forced them to use their privilege or forfeit it, and with it the accompanying scholarship and fellowship at King's College, Cambridge. What a collegier's life was like in those days, is described to us by Thring himself. Fifty-two of the seventy collegiers were lodged in "Long Chamber." This, and the other rooms, "contained little besides the wooden bedsteads, four feet six inches wide, and a set of bureaux. Chairs and tables did not exist, except for the privileged few, and the wind whistled through the gaping casements. Candlesticks were made by folding the cover of a schoolbook and cutting a hole in the middle of it to hold a candle." There were no washstands or basins, so ablutions had to be managed elsewhere; and those who could afford it, like Thring himself, had lodgings in town, where they could wash, and could study during the day. But all had to be in "Long Chamber" by eight o'clock, p.m., where they were locked up, and left to their own devices till next morning. "Rough and ready was the life they led. Cruel at times the suffering and the wrong; wild the profligacy. For after eight o'clock at night no prying eye came near till the following morning; no one lived in the same building; cries of joy or pain were equally unheard; and, excepting a code of laws of their own, there was no help or redress for any one."

The teaching was no less wondrously incompetent. The classes were so enormous, that real teaching must have been out of the question, even the hearing of lessons was little better than a farce. Dr. Keate's reform cut down the numbers under his own care from two hundred to one hundred; even in Thring's time (1835) there were only nine masters for five hundred and seventy boys. The tutors were of course equally hampered, so that all the careless and weaker boys were left entirely to themselves. How the experience of all this affected Thring's after-work, we shall see later. He was an active boy, great at fives, and vigorous at cricket and football. He never lost his esteem for athletics as an educational instrument, and kept up his own activity for many years.

Thring's Eton career terminated with a memorable "Montem," one of the last celebrations of that ancient festival. *The Life* contains a full and graphic account of the proceedings.



It must suffice here to say that in addition to the newly-married Queen and her Consort, and to the usual assembly of relations and friends, the lately opened railway poured in crowds of trippers. The collections made by the boys from the visitors amounted to £1,249 12s., the expenses to £640 15s.; so Thring had a good margin to cover the expenses of his Cambridge course. In addition to endless other feasting at his charge he had to pay, as captain, £50 7s. for the dinners, and £50 16s. for wine, for the entertainment of sixty-four of his more immediate supporters! The wine-bill for the dinner given to three hundred and thirty other boys amounted to over £100! No wonder that it was not long before sufficient reason was found for abolishing Montem. Thring went through the ordeal unscathed, but we are told that three other captains at this triennial celebration, "suffered morally from being supplied with the inordinate credit given by inn-keepers and shopkeepers to Montem captains, recipients of many hundreds of pounds collected as toll rather than free gifts, and squandered on parasites or drink."

Thring entered on residence at King's College, Cambridge, in October, 1841, and remained three years as a scholar, and three as a fellow. He was an earnest student, and was forming those strong religious convictions which were his mainstay in life. He had no prospect of success in the Tripos to spur him on in work, as King's still maintained its privilege of exemption from University examinations. Its students, therefore, who had entered by nomination, had only to satisfy their College tutors in order to secure their degrees, and then stepped into fellowships. Thring's influence had a good deal to do with the surrender of these injurious privileges by the College in 1851.

He took Orders in 1847, and exercised his ministry as a curate in Gloucester with great energy and strong religious convictions. He always looked back upon this period as an excellent preparation for his work as schoolmaster, as it gave him greater earnestness, greater power of dealing with men and adapting himself to their various needs. His desire of doing work for God as the only object worth living for, the motive which carried him through so many trials, was also deepened by his directly religious work at this time. He always referred also to his work in the National Schools at Gloucester, as having brought home to him what teaching really meant. It made him face the problem as to how he, the Cambridge

Honours man, was to get access to the minds of those little labourers' children: "Never shall I cease to be grateful to those impracticable, other-world boys, and that world of theirs that had to be got into," and he speaks of the difficulty he had in the making of himself into a key, "which should have the one merit of a key, however common it might look, the merit of fitting the lock, and unlocking the minds, and opening the shut chambers of the heart. Oh, how hard it was to get into shape, into their shape, and fit the twists and corners of blocked and ignorant minds! But it was glorious work. There was a wonderful freshness in those schools, a most exhilarating sense of life touching life, of freedom and reality, after the heaps of knowledge which, like sheaves of corn on a threatening day, had to be loaded up and carted in against time at school and college." We have here a first principle of Thring's success—his high esteem of the work to be done, not by heaping in knowledge, but by opening out the minds of all put under his care, a work as noble when exercised for the dullard as in the far more encouraging efforts made for the clever.

His zeal in his curate's work at Gloucester, joined to the labour of examining at Eton and Rugby and at the Cambridge Tripos in 1850, led to a break-down in health, which forced him to take a year or more of entire rest. After a little experience with private pupils and holding a country curacy for two years, Thring's desires reverted to teaching-work. He refused a mastership at Eton, and failed in his application for the principalship of the Diocesan Training College and the Durham School, but was installed at Uppingham in September, 1853. He soon afterwards married a German lady, who was of immense help to him in his coming toils and troubles, not only by her sympathy and encouragement, but also by her active participation in his work.

Thring said on entering Uppingham that he had found his life's work. Yet the position seemed a very unfavourable one for exercising much influence on his age. Uppingham is a small town in Rutland of some two thousand inhabitants, in an agricultural district, and at that time was—not an unmixed evil—four or five miles away from the nearest railway-station. The foundation dated from 1584, when Robert Johnson, Arch-deacon of Leicester, founded a "faire, free grammar school." Thring found twenty-five boys in the school when he started work; there was a single assistant on the foundation, an

assistant master and an inefficient writing-master. The buildings consisted of an antiquated headmaster's house and an insufficient schoolroom. The Board of Governors had the care also of another similar school at Oakham, a few miles away; while not much further off was Rugby, then in the heyday of the reputation gained for it by Dr. Arnold. Not a very favourable position this for a young man wishing to work a revolution in the educational ways of his time. And what was still more adverse to any improvement was a most impracticable body of Governors, who had no sympathy with their new headmaster's ambitions, no desire to see themselves involved in any risk or trouble, who did not want Uppingham School to be much more than local; and objected to its being advanced so as to overshadow the neighbouring school at Oakham. The foundation produced about £1,000 a year, the bulk of which, after providing small stipends for the headmaster and his assistant, was spent in exhibitions for scholars at the Universities.

Thring started life as headmaster with a very clear conviction of what was expected of a public school and the large field open to him:

There is a very strong feeling growing up among the merchant class in England in favour of the public schools, and hundreds go to (boarding) schools now who thirty years ago (this was written in 1875) would not have thought of doing so. The learning to be responsible and independent, to bear pain, to play games, to drop rank and wealth and home luxury is a priceless boon. I think myself it is this which has made the English such an adventurous race: and that, with all their faults, and you know how decided my views are on this side, the public schools are the cause of this manliness. . . . It is the fixed idea with every Englishman, in the lump, that it is the thing to send a boy to a public school, and the ordinary English gentleman would think he lost caste by not doing so.

Not less definite were his views of what a public school should be in order to meet honestly the requirements of parents, hitherto, he considered, not honestly met. He was quite clear that classes should not be larger than twenty-five boys. A master cannot do justice to all if he has more; nor, on the other hand, should they be much smaller, for there will not be proper life in a class if the numbers fall much below this standard. To the objection of expense, Thring always answered that what parents wanted was efficiency, and that they would

not object to a comparatively small increase in the bills if they felt sure the money was well spent.<sup>1</sup> Similarly Thring maintained, much to his own pecuniary loss, that the numbers in a house should not be more than thirty. Otherwise the boys could not be properly looked after, and there would be none of that family life, which he set great store on. Moreover, he wanted to provide such positions for assistant masters that they would be attached to the school, have their interests involved in it, and not be mere birds of passage. This could only be secured by their having boarding-houses, and so securing a better income than would ever come from mere tuition fees. He at once proved the sincerity of his convictions by cutting down the numbers of his own boarders and granting the assistant masters the right to take boarders, a right hitherto confined to the headmaster. Later on he stated that he considered that to carry out his principles involved a cost for each boy of £35 a year as tuition fees; that the keep would amount to from £30 to £50 per head, and that anything above this should be looked upon as a profit for the master. He calculated that you could not expect to attract and keep the best men unless they could be secured £1,000 a year for their work. Besides limiting the numbers in each class and each house, Thring was equally definite about limiting the whole number in a school. He argued that for a school to be really one, and not a mere accidental union of several schools, the headmaster should know every boy, and watch his progress. Otherwise he would have to refer on all occasions to the form-master, who would thus become headmaster for that particular boy; while the nominal headmaster would have no independent knowledge of the boy's needs and capabilities, and of the proper way of providing for them.

If a headmaster does not know each boy [he writes] and is unable to give an opinion on each boy, his assistant master B comes before him with a complaint of a boy C whom he does not know. The headmaster has no choice. He must take B's opinion as final and act upon it. In other words, the headmaster sinks into the position of B's policeman. B is entirely independent of the headmaster in his treatment of boys and knows it. This makes B an autocrat in his

<sup>1</sup> But a writer in the *Spectator* for December 31st points out how this difficulty still hinders the reform urged by Thring. £400 a year for the master of twenty-five boys means £16 a piece at once. Mr. Tarver laments that public bodies are lavish in buildings but close-fisted in paying teachers.

own class, and breaks up the school into a number of small sections. The effect of this is that no unity is possible, the individual masters are in a great degree free from restraint, and great laxity of discipline and great unevenness of treatment is the result. The boys cease to expect uniformity; the masters drop into slack habits, or are martinets, according to their disposition; charges of favouritism are rife, and punishments are set according to individual caprice.<sup>1</sup>

This need of unity for efficiency, joined to the call for a sufficient number of classes to secure regular promotion from class to class, made Thring fix on about four hundred as the ideal number for a school; and he himself refused to go much higher; nor could the urgent representations of his assistant masters ever induce him to give way on this point, nor on the question of the limit of numbers to each house.

Thring's determination on these points was largely due to a very high sense of the responsibility he undertook with regard to every boy he received under his care. Occasionally, of course, there would be cases of boys whose conduct forced him, for the sake of the rest, to resign all further care of them; but short of these extreme cases, the headmaster of Uppingham held that he had undertaken by receiving a boy to provide for his education to the very best of his power. He was, he considered, as much bound to do his best for the dullard, who tried to respond to his efforts, as to the boy who would honour his school by University successes. He had no right to refuse to keep such a boy because he fell behind; he was bound to adapt methods to his needs; he was responsible for finding out and developing such powers as the boy had, by varying the course of instruction and doing all he could to find what that boy could be interested in, and what he could succeed in. In his journal he consoles himself thus for the trouble his principle gives him:

A particularly nice set of new boys in my house in exchange for a particularly unsatisfactory set who left. It is a great temptation when prosperous to get rid of bad boys. But I have never yielded to it. But this sweetens the change when it comes honestly, as now.<sup>2</sup>

He argues out his principle thus:

Englishmen of the upper class send their children away from home to be educated. . . . In theory they are sent away to a place which is better than home, to be under men who train better than fathers and mothers. This is a large demand.

<sup>1</sup> I. p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> I. p. 237.

He goes on to assert that this is not done mainly for the teaching. That could be brought to the home, as is done in other countries. This, then, has little to do with the deliberate preference of the English people, which has turned what were originally local schools into our great public schools.

The difference between merely teaching, and teaching and training, is simply immeasurable. The introduction of the training element at once makes a different world. This different world, if it is truly adapted to its purpose, demands indeed, to begin with, everything that the other does, with the addition of everything necessary to provide for the whole life of the boy in and out of doors on the best training principles.

From this he concludes that as this further training is the very reason for the existence of boarding-schools, so it is the duty of every school to provide this better training for all its boys, not merely for a picked few :

But every boy comes from a home, and a thousand families do not want, if they understand their wants, ten per cent. of their thousand boys to be turned out brilliant knowledge-caskets and prize-winners, while ninety per cent. take their chance. . . . It is an absolute necessity in training, a self evident truth, that every boy, whatever his abilities may be, should be intelligently cared for, and feel that he is so cared for.

He thus writes in later life of the success of his principle :

I do not know that I ever in my life heard anything more inspiring and touching than C. E. Green's statements in talking with me "that the stupidest boy who went out of Uppingham knew and felt that he had a mission in life," and much more to the same purpose. It is a glorious work of the Spirit of the Living God when this living feeling of true life catches fast hold of men like him.

This axiom Thring stuck to throughout his career. Though his whole life's work was laid out in Uppingham, though nearly all he possessed was staked in it, he was ready to give it up entirely rather than be false to this obligation. Hence his long and vigorous struggle with the Public School Commission. So he writes to Lord Lyttelton :

What would you feel, if you stood alone as I do here, at seeing all you cared for once more at stake? and, permit me to add, without any real clue to what is coming. For neither the Commission nor Parliament has yet entered on the great trade question, of how the trade of school-keeping can be carried on so as to give to *each boy* in every school a fair chance. This is what I have lived for. The Government has not noticed it. They are busy about what subjects

are to be taught, before they have secured that *any* subject shall be taught *to every boy*, or any training be given *to every boy*. The great schools, that fill the public eye and are the most grievous sinners against this cardinal A, B, C of the alphabet of education, are only too glad to discuss *subjects* and escape investigation of *machinery*. Now my whole life, work, and convictions are bound up in this trade question, which at Uppingham we have dealt with and settled.<sup>1</sup>

There were several other matters besides the sizes of the school, the classes and the houses, which Thring regarded as necessary for good work. Very strong was his insistence on good school buildings. He puts this down clearly as his second desideratum for any efficient school: "Proper machinery for work, proper tools of all sorts, are at least as necessary in making a boy take a given shape, as in making a deal box."<sup>2</sup> The "almighty wall" was a favourite way with him of expressing his faith in proper accommodation, which included, according to his plans, a separate cubicle for each boy in the dormitories, a separate study for work, a large schoolroom, where all the school could assemble on public occasions, and a suitable school chapel. He used to say that—

To train a man for the highest capacity for teaching and then put him into an unequipped and unfurnished schoolroom, was like preparing a man to be captain of a great ocean steamship and then expect him, with a canal boat or lighter, to bring his goods and passengers with speed and safety to the other side of the Atlantic.

Whatever men may say or think, the almighty wall is, after all, the supreme and final arbiter of schools. I mean, no living power in the world can overcome the dead, unfeeling, everlasting pressure of the permanent structure, of the permanent conditions under which work has to be done. . . . Never rest till you have got the almighty wall on your side. Never rest till you have got all the fixed machinery for work the best possible. The waste in a teacher's workshop is the lives of men.

Thring was the last man to underrate the influence of noble architecture and of venerable traditions, but still he was glad that he had a free hand at Uppingham, and that he was not weighted by incongruous buildings in no way suited to his requirements. He constantly maintained that a large part of the moral evil in our large schools was the result of unsuitable building arrangements, and he always planned everything so as to make it "easy to do right and difficult to do wrong."

<sup>1</sup> I. p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> I. p. 68.



Amusements for boys in their playtime was another powerful means, in Thring's esteem, not merely for healthy occupation, but also for reaching boys who could not be made conspicuous for any success with the book. "Every boy can do something well," was his hopeful motto. The gymnasium, opened in 1859, is said to have been the first attached to any school in England; for the quieter characters he started shops for carpentry and metal-work; there was a garden with private plots for any one who fancied them; music was made a great deal of, and all except those who showed an entire want of taste, were put through a training in singing. An aviary, of which Thring was specially proud, was another means of reaching boys with a turn for natural history; and of course he had a swimming-bath. The entry in his diary for November 24th, is:

Opened the gymnasium to-day—a great boon to the school. The boys crowded in in great glee.<sup>1</sup>

October 26, 1862.—Yesterday morning I brought forward my carpentry scheme to the masters; partly to my amusement, partly to my contempt, it was very coldly received—because!! I had not consulted them about it.<sup>2</sup>

We find no mention in the record of a reading-room for the boys, though no doubt such must have been provided, nor of a debating society; but the School Magazine was welcomed by him as a valuable outlet for energy:

The Sixth Form are thinking of starting a Magazine in the school. I shall encourage it. Anything which gives life and occupation is good.<sup>3</sup>

Above all these means of reaching individual tastes, Thring set store on the games which interest the bulk of boys, get up a public spirit in a school, and make the boys proud of their *Alma Mater*. Cricket, football, and fives were therefore amply provided for and encouraged. Fives was Thring's own favourite game, and his delight for many years was, in alliance with one of his assistant masters, to challenge the two best boys at fives and beat them. At cricket and football he was not so expert; his play was vigorous but unscientific, and the boys had to find out for themselves that the precepts of their energetic headmaster on these matters did not lead them to victory. Thring always liked his masters to play with the boys:

<sup>1</sup> I. p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> I. p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> I. p. 130.



We mix much with the boys in the games. . . . Many a boy whom we put at a low level redeems his self-respect by the praise bestowed upon him as a game player, and the balance of manliness and intellect is more impartially kept.<sup>1</sup>

He considered it a triumph of his system when the good feeling between boys and masters was such that a match could be played between them.

To-day the masters played the school. . . . It was good fun. It is a wonderful proof of our substantial unity that masters and boys can thus contend on two sides. It is something to be able to play with them, but far beyond that to be able to play against them.<sup>2</sup>

Was asked to play football to-day—the Sixth against the school. Did so, though I have long given up regular playing: it is too severe. Had a first-rate game. . . . I could not help thinking with some pride what headmaster of a great school had ever played a match at football before.<sup>3</sup>

The large schoolroom, where all could meet for lectures, concerts, and other public functions, was another of Thring's requirements. He wanted this to be a fine room, and looked upon it as one of the sources of school spirit. The vigour which he showed in carrying through his plans for this hall, in spite of the apathy and even opposition of his Board of Governors, is an instance of his remarkable energy. As on other occasions, he had to sink some of his own money in the work, and his enthusiasm induced other masters to make similar sacrifices. He always took great interest in this room, and his journal tells us of the delight with which he saw it successfully decorated by his drawing-master, Mr. Rossiter:

I have something to show you when you come here again—our schoolroom beautifully painted under Mr. Rossiter. This will kill the mean idea of lessons. Surround lessons with noble surroundings, and the whole boy world will alter.<sup>4</sup>

And elsewhere, after describing his aviary, he goes on:

My other novelty is a thing I began in my class-room long ago and have never had funds to go on with. Now I have a little public money to deal with, and I have a series of magnificent autotypes of ancient art hung up in the schoolroom. I hope by degrees to get all the mean furniture out, and I am sure that by making the surroundings of lessons beautiful and noble, we shall destroy the low schoolboy notion of learning, just as we have destroyed by the same kind of change their low domestic life.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I. p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> I. p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> I. p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> II. p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> II. p. 230.

There are constant references in his notes to the satisfaction he felt in the worthy surroundings which his handsome school-room enabled him to provide for the high-class music of his school-concerts and the lectures on matters of general interest, music, art, and social questions, which he took pains to provide for his boys from time to time.

Another building was still more necessary in his mind than a great schoolroom. Thring was above all things a religious man. He started his career with a determination to do his best for God's service; the mainspring of his efforts was this determination to be as useful as he could. His constant repetition of the thought that success or failure is immaterial, that what each man has to face is to do what God wants of him as well as ever he can, is what we should look for in one trained on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. To his mind an education without religion was a contradiction in terms, a negation of the first principles which he laid down to himself as a foundation of his work. Above all, he maintained, was religious principle necessary for the teacher. Without it he could not possibly persevere in his work with that spirit that was necessary to give it real life; still less could he guide and form those under him unless he had religious motives to put before them as their mainstay in temptation, their strength in the task of forming their characters for life. With these convictions Thring could not but wish for a fine college chapel. With a truly religious heart he wished for a chapel that should be the real centre of school life, the beauty of which should impress boys with the importance of that higher life which is typified by the house of God in their midst. His earliest troubles were about the wretched dark gallery in which the school was packed away in the old parish church, during the utterly unsuitable services of a country town. Things were remedied a little when he obtained leave, after some opposition, to hold separate services in the parish church; and we cannot doubt that the outcry was loud and the opposition bitter when it was known that he was not even then satisfied, and that he was turning all his energies to the building of a suitable college chapel. The erection of this and its presentation to the Trust, which had ever opposed its erection, was one of Thring's greatest triumphs: and the delight with which he records every improvement in it, the stained-glass windows, the organ-loft and organ, the improvements in the choir, are all worthy of a man

who had God's interests at heart, and who felt what a power was exercised over the minds of the young by the stately surroundings of religion. The more solemn religious ceremonies, Founder's Day, later on the Borth Commemoration, the periodic confirmations, the communions, were the events of his life, planned out beforehand and valued as the most powerful aids in his work.

I felt so happy at having again at least a hundred communicants in the school—real communicants, who come of their own free-will.<sup>1</sup>

The eventful day over. One hundred boys exactly confirmed to-day: a very impressive sight and service . . . I don't know when I have felt . . . a more exultant, thankful sense of present blessing than when I got back to my study after seeing and hearing that noble sight and service.<sup>2</sup>

His joy when the number of communicants was great, his disappointment when they were few, could hardly be more energetically expressed if he had been the Rector of one of our Catholic Colleges. His zeal for Confirmation was so great that he had a sharp passage at arms with his Bishop (Magee of Peterborough) on his unwillingness to multiply Confirmations. Preparation for these was kept by Thring as his own work and valued as his great opportunity for bringing home to those entrusted to him the dangers that beset the coming years of their lives. It is certainly an example to us all to read in Thring's diary of the pains he took in these preparations and in his weekly sermons to the boys, though he was so often worn out with work and worry, and had very poor health for many years of his life.

Fifteen years after taking up the work, Thring was able to record in his diary that the school was full, 310 boys in the upper school, 45 in the lower (Preparatory School). He had achieved this result by a long struggle for his noble educational ideal, a struggle that he had to maintain almost alone. No doubt in his fight with the governing body he had his masters with him; their interests here were one with his, and with the school he had built up with their aid. The school buildings had been erected almost entirely at their cost—8¾ per cent. having been paid by the Trust, 91¼ per cent. by Thring and his masters. The boarding-houses were their private property, the value of which depended almost entirely on the prosperity of their school. But beyond this, they were only half-hearted or less in the support of his

<sup>1</sup> I. p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> I. p. 231.

principles. At one time they are altering for the worse the methods of teaching ; at another his system of managing boys is disregarded ; and then we have wholesale attacks on him as to the limitation of numbers, which of course affected the incomes of the masters. All this made him very despondent about the permanence of his institutions. It was not details of his work but the very foundations that were attacked by the men whom he thought he had trained on his own convictions. Giving up the school meant ruin for him ; but he was determined all through to give it up rather than yield on any matter of principle.

One of the great struggles of his life was the battle with the School Commissioners, whose original plans for the new scheme for Uppingham he considered entirely subversive of his whole ideal. This objection referred not merely to the religious character of the school, but also very largely to the position of the headmaster. Thring absolutely refused to keep that responsible position if the "dead hand" of a board of governors or a Government department was to interfere with him in his work. How very different was his absolute refusal to be hampered in his work from the weak acquiescence of the Headmasters' Conference the other day in the proposed Government interference with the schools. There but one voice was raised for liberty to teach ; all the rest seemed quite content to condemn their successors and all the schools of England to the red-tape inspection of a Government department, and ultimately to the interference of a local authority. This last Thring specially dreaded. Thus he writes to Mr. Parkin :

I quite agree with you in your dread of Government, but there is a worse evil still—inferior Government authority set over you. If you must put *life* into leading-strings, and the living active power is not to be trusted to do its own work, at least put the leading-strings into the hands of the highest, and do not have a low neighbour, *always on the spot*, get his dead hand on your heart. *Keep free*, if possible. Resist everything but the right of Government to see that good average work is done. Otherwise all improvements, all deviation from routine, all new teaching method and new ways of training become impossible.<sup>1</sup>

Again he writes :

The recent legislation with us puts practically all the schools in England under separate bodies of trustees and requires an examination and inspection—one or both—once a year. This would have come

<sup>1</sup> II. p. 197.

under a Government board, the worst form under which anything can be done in England, had we not staved it off by getting the Universities to undertake it.

Even in this improved form he fears the "dead hand:"

The late Commission sent down here a young fellow of Trinity, a Rugby man, a master of Wellington College, to report on the school. He was a man who had just attained to the distinction I had twenty-five years ago, and others of the masters since. What was the value of his opinion, trained as he was in an antagonistic system lacking in experience?

And again he writes in his journal:

Received the examiners' reports this morning. They are a caution of what we are to expect if we get the examining yoke on our neck. They lay down the law in fine style about the work and what it should be.<sup>1</sup>

He goes on in the letter quoted above to explain his plan for the whole system of secondary education. The trustees of each school should manage the property and have general supervising power, but no right to interfere in the working of the school. Then there should be a council made up of schoolmasters, lawyers, and men of authority, to try cases and make regulations:

Then the headmaster ought to be supreme in all matters of work as being a skilled workman, and no amateur in authority ought to have any power to meddle with him. This last point I have secured for Uppingham. My trustees can dismiss me or my successor with six months' notice, without assigning cause and without appeal; but they cannot tell us how to work or interfere with our working.

Among other educational movements initiated by Thring, the Headmasters' Conference holds a conspicuous place. The matter however is so familiar that we need not dwell upon it specially here. His idea was taken up with great energy by the Rev. E. D. Harper, the headmaster of Sherborne School, and between them they managed to keep the Conference safe from the absolute domination of the great public schools. It was uphill work at first, and even after the Conference was fairly established, there was many a battle on points which Thring considered fundamental. If the Conference has not turned out all that Thring hoped for, it has at least done something to break down the isolation of the schools, and to give opportunity

<sup>1</sup> I. p. 250.

for comparing standards and methods. And it must be remembered that the numerous other conferences that have sprung up, including our own Catholic Headmasters' Conference, owe their start to the initiative of Thring. Later on in life Thring took great interest in the Headmistresses' Conference, and earned much gratitude from Miss Buss and Miss Beale, the leaders of the work for the higher education of women.

A famous episode in Thring's life, which seemed at one time likely to ruin the school, was in the end the means of bringing him and his work much more into public notice. Successive outbreaks of typhoid fever, continued in spite of every improvement in the sanitary arrangements of the boarding-houses, made it evident that the main drains of the town were in fault. But the Rural Sanitary Board refused to believe that they were responsible, and it was clear that unless something could be done the school would have to be closed. This meant ruin to the whole work and to the masters who owned the houses. The crisis brought them all to one mind, and they agreed to back up Thring, in spite of the apathy of the Governors, in transferring the school temporarily to another and healthier site. Borth, in Wales, was finally settled upon, and there schools re-opened on April 4, 1876. This forced the town of Uppingham to act, but it took so long to carry out the drainage works, that the school remained at Borth for a whole year: yet neither the exile nor the actual migration caused any appreciable diminution in the number of the boys. To have extemporized in a few days accommodation for a school of four hundred boys in a small out of the way village in Wales, and to carry on the work there efficiently, was indeed a triumph of organizing power, and showed the admirable order and discipline of the school. This did much to open men's eyes to the reality of Thring's work. Henceforth his name was great in the educational world; his advice was constantly asked; and his principles gradually prevailed to a large extent even in the oldest and most conservative public schools. But the occasion was used by the Board of Governors to cause Thring a great deal of annoyance. They steadily refused to take any cognizance of the migration and left him and his staff to bear the expenses incurred in saving the school from ruin. These were partly covered by a private subscription among the parents. The Board not only disowned the migration, but they also seized the opportunity of putting pressure on Thring to remove

the limits of numbers, which he had always maintained as a first principle. After a long battle Thring was victorious, and induced the Charity Commissioners to allow such an increase in school fees as would place the masters in a satisfactory pecuniary position.

The migration and its results put the school and its headmaster on quite new terms with the town of Uppingham. The rector of the parish had always resented any interference with his people and headed the opposition to any sanitary improvements asked for by Thring. But he had fallen a victim to his own obstinacy and died of typhoid during the Borth exile. When the school was empty, the town soon felt how entirely its prosperity depended on the boys, and welcomed them on their return with quite a triumphal entry. Thring took the opportunity of showing his interest in the welfare of the people, especially by carrying out his favourite motto of teaching them how to enjoy themselves. This he held to be the best form of charity in our own day, and any one interested in the work of helping the poor will find many practical hints on the subject in the *Life* before us.

The last years of Thring's career were a time of comparative peace, though he himself groans constantly over the worries and trials of a schoolmaster's life. Of course the boys gave some trouble; there were failures and disappointments; now and then exemplary punishment had to be inflicted on whole houses and classes, for Thring strongly held that all were responsible for what they ought to have prevented; and even when they had no chance of actually preventing evil, they were blameworthy, he said, for not having such a public opinion among them that evil would have been impossible. At times he laments over a poor attendance at the Sacrament; then he has the painful duty of sending a boy away. But all this, he constantly repeats, was as nothing in his eyes compared to the trouble he had with the masters. Thus he writes in his journal under date September 23, 1875:

I could not help feeling to-night, as I sat by my Sixth Form at the lecture, how pleasant a profession a schoolmaster's would be, if one could only get rid of the masters. . . . For one hour I spend in thinking over and freshening the boy work, I spend three in masters' squabbles, letter-writing to malcontents, and cares of this kind. . . . I am sure any one reading these records will be astonished at the amount of time taken up by useless master-jaw. I am sure half my available



time and more than half my strength has been consumed in this way. . . . I am astonished myself what a mere fringe of time and thought I am able to give directly to the boys, who are my main work. Fortunately I must be in school a certain number of hours a day. There I am secure.

It vexes me day by day to see the bottom of the school, which I lay so much stress on in my own heart, in such incompetent hands compared to what it might be, and yet I cannot bring myself to think that men who do honest work up to a certain mark ought to be got rid of, when once established here, because they fail to do better.<sup>1</sup>

This trouble was largely caused by Thring's determination to have unity of work in the school. He wanted all the boys to be trained and taught on the same lines, so that there should be a definite Uppingham type. To help to this he had masters' meetings weekly, in which they discussed matters pertaining to their common end. Sometimes an effort was made to turn these conferences into a parliament and to vote down the head-master—a hopeless attempt enough when Thring was the man. At other times his plans or hobbies were directly attacked, as when a master blurted out that boys were wasting time at music when they should be doing mathematics, and drew from Thring one of his characteristic declarations as to the real objects of education.

His Board of Governors also remained to the end in a state of at least passive opposition to him and to his plans. Perhaps it was this that led him at one time to think of resigning, but his friends advised him strongly against that course, and the fact that he had made no provision for his old age no doubt influenced him in remaining at his post so long as he was judged efficient. He therefore made application to the Governors for an increase of salary, as he was getting the lowest that was possible under the school "scheme": but they could see no reason for helping the man who had sacrificed health and money in his work, and refused his application. It seems hardly less surprising that the Church authorities did not offer him any benefice.

Thring had often prayed that he might be able to work on to the end at the post assigned him by God; and this he was to do at Uppingham. He had the satisfaction in his last years of finding his principles acknowledged and acted on not only in England, but also in the United States, Canada, and Australia. He was constantly consulted by letter by teachers all over the

<sup>1</sup> *L.* 233.



world, and many addresses were called for by various educational bodies at home and abroad. Moreover, he had the consolation of seeing Uppingham boys carrying out, in various paths of life and in remote parts of the world, the manly principles he had instilled into them. His correspondence with these brought him great encouragement, not least so when he found that some ne'er-do-well at school had changed his ways in the battle of life, and was loud in his acknowledgments of the debt he owed to Thring and to Uppingham.

The end came suddenly. He had taught his form as usual up to the Saturday. In the evening he made what was to be the last entry in his journal, "Now to bed. Sermon finished, and a blessed feeling of Sunday coming." He began the morning service in the beautiful school chapel on Sunday, but could not carry it through. Inflammation of the lungs soon declared itself. His worn body was still more weakened by an anxious mind; and by the middle of the week he was known to be seriously ill. He died peacefully on the following Saturday, October 22, 1887. His remains lie in the quiet churchyard of Uppingham, and a fine memorial statue by Brock reminds the boys of the school of how much they owe to the generous and devoted man who spent his life in battling for their truest interests.

The life of Thring will be a help to all earnest teachers. He had his faults; some of his troubles and worries were due to these defects. But he was a great man, possessed by high principles and resolute enough to carry them out spite of difficulties that would have daunted most men. The value of his life as a guide to others is greatly increased by the fact that he kept a journal in which his trials and sorrows, his aims and his successes, are all chronicled for the help of those who come after him. Such was his own view of the value of this intimate record of his life:

What is done and the success by-and-bye will want no history; but I cannot but think that the difficulties and vexations that have secretly hindered and embittered the work may prove no useless knowledge to true workers, even if it be in their judgment only a record of my own shortcomings and inefficiency. For the success of a great work becomes all the more valuable as an example when it seems to be God's blessing on the true effort rather than any out of the way excellence in the human instruments.

## *The Episcopal Registers of Winchester.*<sup>1</sup>

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OF all the sources of history which throw light upon the condition of the Church in England prior to the Reformation, there are none superior in importance and in interest to the contents of the episcopal registers. Parish records dating back to the fourteenth, or even to the fifteenth century, are hardly to be found, and where they exist they are, with very few exceptions, meagre in the extreme. The details preserved in early wills, while adding greatly to our knowledge of the domestic life of our ancestors, rarely touch upon matters of real historical moment. The chartularies again, and the custom-books of monasteries or cathedral chapters, do not often travel outside the range of interests of one particular spot, or one particular community. But in an episcopal register we may expect almost anything and everything. It is very far from being a mere barren chronicle of ordinations and institutions. Whatever might come in a bishop's way to enjoin, to license, to confirm, to censure, to protest against, matters sometimes of local and sometimes of national importance, all commonly found their place side by side in the official register. In fact, so far as mere variety of contents is concerned, these well-cared-for chronicles of diocesan activity may often bear comparison even with the *Regesta* of the bulls, briefs, and other official instruments of the spiritual head of Christendom.

Seeing then the first-rate importance of such records, it appears worth while to direct the attention of our readers to the admirable work which has been done of late years in making them accessible to all students of our national history. In the case of the two great dioceses of the south-west, Exeter and Winchester, it would be hard to point to anything more entirely satisfactory than the manner in which this difficult undertaking

<sup>1</sup> *The Registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio, A.D. 1316—1323*, Edited for the Hampshire Record Society by Francis Joseph Baigent. London, 1897.

*Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of Exeter*. Edited by F. C. Hingeston Randolph. London: Bell, 1886—1896.

has been, and is being, carried out. By a curious coincidence, the history of the two sees in question has been singularly beholden to Catholics. Though the works of Dr. John Milner, the famous Vicar-Apostolic, and of Dr. George Oliver, the author of the *Monasticon Exoniense*, are now somewhat antiquated, and are not without their share of the shortcomings which are to be met with in most of the historical work of the early part of the century, still these two distinguished men were pioneers in the fields of research which they respectively made their own, and it would not now be disputed, that they did more to elucidate the religious past of the Church of Wessex than any of their contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> It is then a matter for congratulation to find, nearly a century later, another Catholic scholar with a mastery of his subject and an indefatigable industry which excite the admiration of all his reviewers, devoting his life to the completion, on far broader and deeper lines, of the investigations of Milner and Oliver. Although Mr. Baigent, outside his *History of Basingstoke*, is only known in the literary world by the two volumes which he has edited for the Hampshire Record Society, still his extraordinarily minute acquaintance with the ecclesiastical history of this country extends very much further than the limits of a single shire. In the Preface to one of the registers of Exeter, which we shall here consider throughout as a companion series to the Winchester volume edited by Mr. Baigent, Prebendary Hingeston Randolph, with a generous appreciation of a fellow-scholar's labour which is creditable to both of them, speaks in the following terms :

Of Mr. Baigent I can only say, as I have said before, that I regard him as my colleague. His interest in the progress and accuracy of my work is as great as if it were his own, and the reader will discover at every turn how constant and efficient his co-operation has been, correcting my mistakes, and enriching many a page with the results of his unrivalled knowledge of the life and history of the mediæval Church in this land.

It is pleasant to find Mr. Baigent in his turn confessing his indebtedness "to the constant help of my good and dear friend, Prebendary Hingeston Randolph, the able and painstaking

<sup>1</sup> The unfriendly feeling of some of those contemporaries, who looked jealously at the work done by Catholic scholars with far less resources and opportunities of research than they themselves enjoyed, is curiously illustrated in the attack made upon Dr. Milner's *History of Winchester* by Dr. John Sturges, Prebendary of the Cathedral and Chancellor of the diocese.

editor of those grand volumes of the episcopal registers of his own diocese, . . . a standing memorial of his accuracy, industry, and marvellous perseverance." Neither need we have any fear that these expressions of good-will are merely the platitudes of a mutual admiration society. The terms in which the publications of both authors alike are praised in our leading reviews, and a very short inspection of the books themselves, must speedily remove any doubt upon the subject.<sup>1</sup> As a competent critic of Mr. Baigent's volume of Registers suggests, if one wishes to form an idea of the skill and painstaking diligence of the Editor, one has only to turn to the frontispiece of his volume, and to compare the photographed facsimile of folios 1, 2, and 3, with the printed text which represents them.

This is a test [he adds] which, as far as our experience goes, very few books of this class can stand, even when the manuscripts are in good preservation, and the writing easy to read. But the case before us may almost be called unique; for the portion of the manuscript in question is in ruins; much of the writing that remains is barely legible, and about half of each folio has been torn away, from top to bottom, and has perished altogether. Many an editor would have passed over these mutilated leaves, shrinking from the attempt to copy them, as from a hopeless, and indeed impossible task. Not so Mr. Baigent; with infinite labour he has succeeded in reconstructing very nearly the whole—a feat which, we need not say, could never have been accomplished apart from a thorough grasp of the subject, and an intimate acquaintance with similar and contemporaneous documents.

Perhaps there is no more agreeable feature in the volumes edited by these two friends and fellow-labourers of different creeds, than the entire absence of a controversial tone or colouring in the modest prefaces with which they introduce the documents they are editing to the notice of the reader. Their concern is with facts and records, and these they leave to tell their own story. We hope we shall not seem to be departing

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the distinguished group of scholars connected with the Hampshire Record Society, a local antiquary says, writing in the *Hampshire Record*: "It is no disparagement of the merits and qualifications of his colleagues to say that Mr. Baigent is recognized, by common consent, as *facile princeps* amongst them. He is a Winchester man, well acquainted with every part of the diocese, and, consequently, for such work as this, he occupies vantage-ground which no stranger from outside can ever pretend to occupy. Moreover, it is well known that he has devoted the best years of his life to these studies, and has accumulated an unrivalled collection of manuscript notes and transcripts bearing on the past history of every parish in these counties; the result being, as everybody knows, that he stands alone as an authority, always ready with an answer for all genuine workers who apply to him for help, and always most helpful and courteous to the very numerous applicants."

from this admirable example if, in a journal intended primarily for Catholic readers, we direct attention to certain aspects of Papal authority in England, which both the Winchester series and the Exeter series, and for the matter of that, the registers of every diocese in the land, must make patent to all who study them carefully. One important letter which Mr. Baigent has recovered, and, as the reward of most patient search, is now able to print entire, would alone afford us sufficient excuse for the present extended notice of his book. It is "particularly striking," a reviewer in the *Athenaeum* has remarked, for "its combination of the phrase *Ecclesia Anglicana* with the humble attitude of the English prelates." The phrase *Ecclesia Anglicana*, as our readers need not be reminded, in the mouth of a pre-Reformation Bishop, was simply a convenient geographical expression and nothing further. It no more connoted independent subsistence, than the phrase the "Church of Wales" connotes independent subsistence to the mind of the average Anglican at the present day. We make no excuse then for quoting this letter entire, long as it is, from the version which Mr. Baigent gives in his Preface. The occasion which led to the drawing up of this document, was the issue of a very stringent Constitution by Pope John XXII., at the beginning of the year 1318, through which he revoked all the dispensations of plurality granted by his predecessors, and commanded pluralists, under threat of excommunication, to surrender all their benefices save one. Every Bishop was required to make a return of the livings vacated and their value, together with the names of the former incumbents. The Register printed by Mr. Baigent lets us know that the Bishop of Winchester eventually forwarded to the Pope a list of over thirty such benefices which had been actually surrendered. As might have been expected, the working of the new Constitution was not unattended with difficulties, and all the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury who were then in England, wrote a collective letter to the Pontiff to explain to him the condition of affairs. The document was authenticated with the seals of all of them, and is found transcribed, though not quite entire, in the Register which Mr. Baigent is editing. After the usual formal introduction, in which the Archbishop and fourteen suffragans,<sup>1</sup> who are enumerated in order of seniority, "devoutly kiss the blessed

<sup>1</sup> The Bishops of St. Asaph and Landaf, Mr. Baigent tells us, were abroad, the see of Rochester was vacant. All the others affixed their seals to the document.

feet of his Holiness with all submission and reverence," the epistle proceeds as follows :

The whole English Church applauded, when lately it had learnt assuredly that the Creator and Redeemer of the whole world, who maketh the rough ways plain and by His just judgment exalts the just, had been pleased by His Divine Providence to promote your Holiness to the summit of the Apostolic dignity. *And we, though unworthy, being included in your pastoral charge, and ourselves derived, as rivers from their fountain-head, from the exalted throne of the Holy Apostolic See,* are moved to action by keener incitements, and that unweariedly, from the fact that you are known to have entertained, always, an intense desire and a noble zeal for the salvation of souls and the reform of the Universal Church, as, indeed, is clearly evidenced by the gracious fruits of your works manifest to all ; and we have determined, therefore, to have recourse to your Holiness, our matchless refuge, on behalf of ourselves and our churches, and the clergy and people committed to our charge, touching all that appertains to the stability of the English Church and the salvation of the people. Be it known then to your Blessedness, that in our common country, in which we are passing the days of our pilgrimage, dignities, parsonages, parish churches, and other benefices, having the most extensive cure of souls, like cities that were full of people, sit all solitary ;<sup>1</sup> whereas others, already void, as an effect of the stringency of your Constitution, directed against pluralists, with salutary forethought, for the edification and salvation of the souls of the faithful, are suffered to remain without curates, and in the case of others the parsons are men of foreign nationality, instituted in the times of your predecessors, who bear indeed the name of pastor, but know nothing of the sheep of their flock, and pay no heed to their bleating, being themselves unknown to all since rarely, if ever, have they visited, neither have they any desire to visit, the places committed to their rule ;<sup>2</sup> so that the three-fold food, the food of the word and of a good example, and the bodily food of the poor, wherewith parsons who dwell among their flocks are wont to refresh them, is taken away ; the service of God is everywhere diminished, the cure of souls is neglected, and no hospitality of any

<sup>1</sup> We have slightly modified here Mr. Baigent's translation, to bring out more clearly the allusion to Jeremiah, Lament. i. 1 : *Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo?*

<sup>2</sup> In 1324, there were only nine aliens beneficed in the diocese of Winchester, as certified in a return made by Bishop John de Stratforde, viz. : Giles Anglicus, R. of Bramdean ; Bertrand de Asserio, R. of Freshwater ; Stephen de Claro Monte, R. of Bentworth ; Nicholas Fighino, R. of Havant ; Ricardin Justini, V. of East Meon ; Reynmund Pelegrini, R. of Arreton ; Robert Sweof, R. of Monxton ; Stephen Lupart, R. of Buckland ; and Peter de Columbariis, R. of Chipstead. (*Register of John de Stratforde*, fol. 193.—Mr. Baigent's Note.) [It will be observed that the stress of the Bishops' complaint falls, not on their being foreigners, but on their being absentees.]

kind is kept up ; and the benefices themselves, bereft of the succour of those who should defend them, are in countless ways stripped of their rights and liberties, while the noble buildings raised by the munificence of those now dead, are falling into ruin ; and, bitterest thought of all, in these our days, the devotion of the lay people to the Church is, in consequence of these evils, growing utterly lukewarm, or rather, vanishing altogether ; for as soon as we begin to exercise our office against them, in defence of those rights of the Church which have been filched away through the prevailing irreligion, they cast the aforesaid abuses in our teeth.<sup>1</sup> Forasmuch, then, as from the sweet odour of your fame, both preceding and following your elevation to the Apostolic dignity, you are publicly proclaimed as directly intending chiefly this,—that in the Lord's vineyard throughout the world the service of your tender care, bestowed alike on the blossoms and the fruit, may produce the sweetest odours and fertilize it abundantly ; we on our part, and on the part of the other prelates, both secular and regular, and the clergy of the Province of Canterbury lately assembled with us, to treat, in so far as we lawfully may, concerning the condition of the Church and Kingdom of England, surrounded as we are, on all sides, by the snares of our enemies, but with full trust in the clemency of your Blessedness, *cast ourselves at your feet who hold the highest Apostolic office, and humbly beg that you will deign, in your two-fold office of affection, to make salutary provision for these English churches*, now widowed, as it were, through the loss of the personal presence of their Rectors ; vouchsafing to grant both to us and to other clerical patrons, if it please you, in the case of all the churches of our patronage, and those of all other patrons within the Province of Canterbury, now void by reason of pluralists through the operation of the said Constitution promulgated thereunto, authority to provide, collate, and even present, with the acknowledged right of patrons, approved men, able to build and to plant, through whose means the aforesaid perils may be happily counteracted, having becoming regard to the standing of the men ; or otherwise, that you will yourself be pleased graciously to confer such benefices on the approved clerks, whose names contained in separate schedules, will be presented to your Blessedness, whenever it shall please you to receive them, by the bearer of this letter. We also humbly ask, most loving Holy Father, that in accordance with your most holy intention, the powers of your holy office may be employed in making provision against the aforesaid difficulties, in such manner that to the English Church (wherein indeed the harvest is great, but now the labourers are few) a worthy restoration may hereafter result and continue. We, also, earnestly and again and again beseech your Holy Eminence of dignity Apostolic to regard with your wonted kindness Master Andrew de Bruges, clerk, the bearer of this letter and in this business our special messenger, to whose worth, assuredly, his

<sup>1</sup> Here, again, a phrase has been altered in Mr. Baigent's version.



merits rather than any exalted dignities and honours bear witness ; and ourselves also, your servants, and the servants of your Church of the Province of Canterbury, who are ever ready to obey your Apostolic behests. And forasmuch as, till now, we have not reported to your Apostolic dignity the names of the benefices of pluralists who have been ejected in accordance with the requirements of your said Constitution as, indeed, it was not in our power to do, seeing that up to this time we have been continually hindered by our constant endeavours to secure internal peace, and by our own journeyings hither and thither, not without great fatigue, through divers countries, may it please you of your kindness, in the bowels of your paternal affection, to have us excused and to admit our said clerk to a gracious hearing, touching these and other matters concerning the state of the English Church when, according to the instructions which we, in our humility, have given him, he shall deem it right, with becoming reverence, to communicate to the Apostolic ear, giving unquestioning credence if it please you to what he shall say. Again we pray that what we have written may not exasperate the kindly mind of our most loving Father against us, or cause it to turn away from us ; for as the Most High God knoweth, we have undertaken to bring these things to the knowledge of your Holiness with, as we have said before, no other intention than this,—our sincere desire for the succour of the Church which we know is ever present to your mind. Farewell in Jesus Christ, and long may the Papal dignity, revered above all others, flourish under your governance of the Universal Church, in peace and joyfulness. Given in London, under our Archiepiscopal Seal and the Seals of all our fellow-Bishops, your ministers aforesaid, on the third of the Kalends of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighteen.

Although the Bishops in this important document reflect not obscurely upon the abuse of Papal provisions which had led in so many cases to the appointment of foreigners to English benefices, it is equally plain that as a matter of principle they do not dispute the Pope's right to provide. Moreover, it may be said that the general impression left by a perusal of the Registers so far published is not so unfavourable as might be expected to the results of this system of Provisions. Not only do they bear witness to a certain moderation and tact on the part of the Popes in the exercise of their prerogative, but they bring before us the names of more than one good and capable ecclesiastic who owed his career of usefulness in England to the direct intervention of the Holy See, in the form of letters of provision. A conspicuous example of both facts may be seen in the career of Bishop Grandisson of Exeter (1330—1360).



Prebendary Hingeston Randolph, with the fairness and candour which everywhere distinguishes his work, calls attention to the good sense displayed by Pope John XXII. when, on having provided John de Grandisson, then archdeacon of Nottingham, in 1326 to the vacant see of Exeter, he discovered that another candidate had already been elected by the Chapter and was favourably looked upon by the King. The Pope, "with a very good grace indeed, however reluctantly," transferred his Reservation to the Bishop-elect, thus saving the principle, but removing all cause for friction. The new Bishop, John de Beverley, occupied the episcopal throne for little more than three months, and on his death in the June of 1327 the see was once more vacant. This time the Pope held firmly to the reservation he had again made in favour of John de Grandisson.

Whatever may be thought of these proceedings [writes Prebendary Randolph] by those who have no sympathy with Papal claims, they were, at any rate, justified by the result. It was a good and wise choice, and gave to Exeter the most devoted and illustrious of her Bishops. The new Bishop found his whole diocese distressed and disordered. . . . He plunged into his work bravely and eagerly, without a moment's delay that could be avoided, grudging even the few days that were occupied by necessary formalities, and spurning the attractions of the Court and the flattery and praise of men. He could not rest until he was united to his "spouse;" and when he had once taken possession of his diocese, it was found almost impossible to induce him to leave it again through all his long episcopate, and he devoted his days with untiring energy, unflinching self-sacrifice, and conspicuous success to its reformation and good government.

Bishop John de Grandisson, who was probably born in this country, may fairly be accounted an Englishman, but his father<sup>1</sup> was a Burgundian of distinguished family, and a foreigner according to our modern acceptance of the term. The fact is that a good deal of misconception prevails in the writings, *e.g.*, of Mr. Wakeman and the school whom he represents, about the "foreigners" supposed to have been introduced by the Popes into our national Church at this period of English history. The whole state of European politics and of Christian society was so utterly different from anything which is now familiar to us that the attempt to establish parallels is quite illusory. It has to be remembered that long after this time—

<sup>1</sup> His mother Sibilla, daughter of John de Tregoz, seems, in spite of her family name, to have been an Englishwoman. So, at least, the Bishop himself states in writing to Pope Benedict XI. (*Register*, i. p. 111.)

the latest registers which we are now considering are of the reign of Edward III.—the language commonly spoken by the educated classes in England was French, and that Latin was conversationally familiar to almost all who could read and write. In the Register of Bishop Sandale of Winchester, who was a Yorkshireman, though the vast majority of the entries are in Latin, two or three documents are found in French. In Bishop Grandisson's Register, who lived on until 1360, the number of private letters in French is considerable, though they alternate with the Latin epistles which he usually addressed to ecclesiastics and men of learning. But in none of these volumes, so far as we have seen, is there any single document or memorandum couched in English, although the vast majority of the Bishops and their officials were Englishmen born and bred.<sup>1</sup> At this epoch pretty well half the soil of France was for a hundred years in the occupation of Englishmen, who spoke and wrote the language of the natives as their own mother tongue. The pleadings of the English law-courts, the proceedings of the English Parliament, were all conducted in French.<sup>2</sup> If we want a true analogy for the state of things

<sup>1</sup> In an appendix to the Register of Bishop Stafford (1395—1419), Prebendary Hingeston Randolph gives an analysis of sixty wills proved in the Bishop's court. All these seem to be in Latin, with the exception of one in French, printed *in extenso*. Of course some wills exist in English of earlier date than this, but they are at least extremely rare.

<sup>2</sup> This is far from summarizing, much less from exhausting, all the considerations which might be urged to show that the England of the fourteenth century was nothing like so insular and isolated as the England with which we are now familiar. The very fact that there was one dominant Church, one Christendom, of which all European nations formed a part—this alone was sufficient to change the whole tone and spirit of social life. All who know anything of the University system of the middle ages, will be aware that both professors and students passed from country to country far more readily than they now pass from Oxford to Cambridge or from Rugby to St. Paul's. The laws which regarded every man who had his clergy, *i.e.*, who knew Latin and could read and write, as belonging to a class apart, really corresponded to a great objective division of the population, for the clerk was a citizen of a great cosmopolitan society, speaking one language, and dominated, on the whole, with one set of ideas. It is the private conviction of the present writer that, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, English ecclesiastics, at least the more cultured, who had attended the schools at Oxford or elsewhere, when entirely among themselves, conversed as a rule in Latin in preference to English or French. And the indirect but necessary result of all this was a certain receptivity and power of assimilation among the people at large, even among the unlearned. Moreover, the dialectical varieties of our native speech were such that a Yorkshireman, if he knew no language but his own, felt himself almost a foreigner if chance took him to the south of England. The only place in which he was quite at home was amongst his own kinsfolk in his own shire. Outside of that it did not much matter to his comfort whether he lived in Kent, or in Gascony, or in Belgium, or spent many years roving the north of Italy in the free companies of Sir John Hawkwood and other similar commanders. Finally, it must not be forgotten that if many foreigners found preferment in England,

during the fourteenth and part of the fifteenth century, we must think, not of England and an "Italian mission," but of some such condition of affairs as now prevails in Wales, where the appointment of an Englishman, an Irishman, or a Yankee as parson, while not an ideal nomination, would still be a matter of comparative indifference. No doubt the acceptable candidate will ordinarily be a Welshman, born in the country. Also there will at times be an outcry in Wales against the Sassenach holders of livings, just as there was an outcry against the foreign favourites of Henry III. or Edward II., and against the thrifty Scots who came flocking to London in the train of King Jeamie. But the root of such ill-feeling will lie rather in the jealousy of the disappointed than in any real impossibility of an alien discharging the duties which belong to his official position. Few Bishops in English history have done more for their dioceses than the Burgundian, St. Hugh of Avalon, the great Bishop of Lincoln. Yet it seems certain that he habitually wrote and spoke in Latin or French, and if he understood English at all, which is doubtful, he to the end of his life required an interpreter whenever he wished to converse with the peasantry in rural districts.<sup>1</sup>

We are not overlooking in this connection the remonstrance about Provisions, addressed by Bishop Grandisson in November, 1342, to Pope Clement VI., beginning with the words, which symbolize so well the tone of the letter: "*Quidquid servus suo Domino et filius Patri pio,*" (with all the good wishes that a slave may offer to his master and a son to a fond father). The occasion of that letter was, after all, quite exceptional. Clement VI. on succeeding to the Papacy, seems to have made the astounding promise, that he would grant benefices to all

there were also numbers of Englishmen who were promoted to bishoprics, lecture-ships, and benefices abroad.

<sup>1</sup> It is absurd to suppose that the foreign ecclesiastics, mostly French-speaking, provided by the Pope to English benefices were marked off from the body of the people by any such line as separates a Frenchman from an Englishman now-a-days. Very significant are the terms of the letter of remonstrance, referred to later on in the text, addressed by Bishop Grandisson to Pope Clement VI. about the Papal provisions. What the Bishop complains of is not that foreigners were appointed to English livings, but that all patronage was taken out of the hands of himself and his colleagues in the Episcopate. The letter implies that the clergy thus provided by the Pope were very generally of English birth, and this Mr. Bliss's extracts from the Vatican registers fully bear out, but as Bishop Grandisson points out, the English clerks who rushed off to Avignon to sue for benefices, did not represent the highest type of candidates for promotion, and were far less worthy than those who remained at home. In any case, the real abuse was not the sending of foreigners to England, but the naming of foreigners who never came to England at all.

poor clerks who should come to Avignon and claim them within two months of his coronation. "As many as one hundred thousand," writes Mr. Bliss, "are said to have come, and the register for the first year of his pontificate consists of no fewer than twelve volumes."<sup>1</sup> The significance of this latter detail will be appreciated, when it is added that in the reign of his predecessor Benedict XII., one volume usually sufficed to contain all the grants of benefices and other documents emanating from the Papal Chancery in the course of a year. No wonder that the Pope's generosity only whetted the appetite of the needy clerics, and that we find him a few months afterwards launching anathemas against the petitioners, in a Bull, the terms of which can hardly be read without a smile.

Whereas certain persons, as We have frequently learned from experience, casting from them their regard for decent manners and the reverence due to ourselves, have presumptuously dared and still do dare, when We are in consistory, and at other times when We are riding, to cast before Us and sometimes upon Us, their petitions, in which they even wrap up stones to Our perturbation, We . . . do by these presents strictly forbid all and singular to cast down petitions in Our sight. . . . Moreover, those who shall presume to the contrary, if they be clerks, We render incapable of holding ecclesiastical benefices, but if they be laymen, We will that they thereby incur sentence of excommunication, &c.

We have wandered such a long way from the collective letter addressed to Pope John XXII. by the English Episcopate, that it hardly seems worth while to return to the subject. Let it be said, however, that while there seems to be nothing in these episcopal registers to contradict the deeply respectful and submissive language of the prelates, at any rate as regards the *principle* that they were in their pastoral charge "derived, as rivers from the fountain-head, from the exalted throne of the Apostolic See," we meet at almost every turn with documents and references which confirm it. A very striking illustration of this is the exemption given by Boniface VIII. to John de Pontissara, Bishop of Winchester, from the authority of his metropolitan, Robert Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury. It runs thus :

In order therefore that We may prove in very deed the affection of paternal kindness which We bear to thee, as thy distinguished merits require, We by Our Apostolic authority and favour release thee

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers relating to Great Britain*, vol. iii. Preface, p. vi.

henceforth from the oath of fealty, obedience, and subjection of any sort by which thou art bound to Our Venerable Brother the Archbishop and Church of Canterbury, whose suffragan thou art known to be, and by the plenitude of Our Apostolic power We exempt, set free, and withdraw thee and thy aforesaid Church of Winchester, the Chapter or College and dignitaries (*personas*) of the said Church, and also the city and diocese of Winchester and all thy household officials and subjects &c. &c. &c., with all their property and belongings from the jurisdiction of the said Archbishop.

It would be interesting to learn whether this high-handed interference with the ecclesiastical administration of the country met with any effective resistance. Whether any protest was made or not, we feel practically certain that this principle of "the plenitude of Apostolic power," in other words, the right of the Pope so to interfere and to grant exemptions if he chose, would never have been disputed.

Finally, it is perhaps desirable to say that the main interest of the Registers, so ably edited by Mr. Baigent and Prebendary Hingeston Randolph, does not of course lie in such Papal and national documents, which appear there only exceptionally and by accident, but rather in the light they throw upon local history<sup>1</sup> and upon ecclesiastical organization and procedure. These are the topics in which the remarkable gifts of both editors are displayed to best advantage, and they constitute of course the vast bulk of the contents of all these volumes. We most earnestly hope that the preparations long ago made by Mr. Baigent for the publication of the still more important Register of John de Pontissara (an Englishman despite his foreign-sounding name), Bishop of Winchester from 1282—1304, may soon bear fruit in another volume brought out, like that now before us, with his own annotations and under his own personal supervision.

<sup>1</sup> As a single hasty illustration of the kind of detail in which these volumes abound, we may instance the license accorded by Nicholas Walrond, Rector of Eversley, to his dear friend and parishioner John de Foxele, Knight, to have both Mass and the day and night Offices of the Church celebrated, for the convenience of himself and his family, in the chapel which the said knight had constructed in his manor of Bramshill, seeing that the floods in winter (*inundationes aquarum tempore yemali*), and other unavoidable accidents, often prevented the household from coming to the parish church. This license was granted contingently upon the Bishop's approval, and the confirmation thereof in his name by the Vicar General of the diocese is duly entered in the episcopal register. It is pleasant to think that the manor of Bramshill is now once more in Catholic hands, and that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is again offered at intervals within the old walls which were worked into the present splendid Jacobean mansion, erected about 1609 by the architect of Holland House.

### *Dr. Pusey's Letters.*<sup>1</sup>

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WHAT have you done to advance the cause of the Catholic Church in England? And what hindrance have you put in the way of that advance? In his lifetime Dr. Pusey would have distinguished between the Catholic Church and Roman Catholicism. Otherwise he would have considered these two questions fair determinants of his deserts at God's tribunal. We are not his judges; and can only answer these questions, so far as we can answer them, objectively, according to results, apart from what Dr. Pusey conceived, believed, or intended. The progress of the Catholic Church does not consist solely in the increase of her numbers by conversions. That men who are not Catholics should have a deep sense of the presence and majesty of God, that they should pray to Him continually, that they should dread His everlasting wrath, that they should hold hard by dogmatic teaching, particularly on the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the need of grace, that they should be anxious to confess their sins to Christ's minister and receive absolution, that they should have a longing desire to feed on the Flesh of Christ present in the Holy Eucharist, that young men should strive after purity, and men in easy circumstances take pains to do works of mercy,—all this is a gain to Catholicism, all this rejoices the heart of the Pope, the common Father of Christians, all this prepares and tills the field, which ultimately yields conversions; for of men of this stamp, and the children of men of this stamp, converts to Roman Catholicism are made. And such a man was Edward Bouverie Pusey, as we knew him of old, and as these Letters, newly published, further declare him. However much Dr. Pusey and his friends repudiated the imputation, the common voice proclaimed that a 'Puseyite' was an Anglican who had gone several days' marches nearer Rome than the Protestant main body; and when one went the whole

<sup>1</sup> *Spiritual Letters of E. B. Pusey, D.D.*, edited by the Rev. J. O. Johnston, M.A., and the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A. Longmans. 344 pp.

way, as so many did, the world threw up its hands, and said, 'Just what I expected.' Dr. Pusey in his lifetime incurred no small odium on this account.

A greater man than Pusey left the Anglican communion in 1845. The fifty-three years which have elapsed since that event have developed what is now the most interesting phenomenon in the religious world of England. 'Anglo-Catholicism' it calls itself, or now rather, 'Catholicism' simply. But it is not Catholicism simply, and the country generally recognises that it is not, reserving the name of 'Catholics' for others. Aristotle would have said, it is Catholicism, not ἀπλῶς, but κατὰ τι. It is Catholicism with a qualification, Catholicism with a dash of Protestantism still left in it; we may call it, 'Catholicism Limited.' Yes, Catholicism still limited by insular prejudice and national spirit. Perhaps it should be described in heraldic language as '*Catholicism* bearing in a scutcheon of pretence *No Popery*.' Its principles, which have recently undergone revision, are these: 'For doctrine, be Roman, as Roman as you like, so that you keep clear of papal supremacy and infallibility; for ceremonies, go as far as the Prayer Book and your Bishop will allow you; but remain within the Church by law established, and discourage all individual submissions to the Roman Bishop.' Of this school, Dr. Pusey is the tutelary spirit. So far as it has the power, it has canonised him and raised him to the rank of a Doctor of the Church. He is to them what Saint-Cyran and Pascal were to the Jansenists. But of Dr. Pusey and his school many Catholics think, as they do not think of the Jansenists, with much admiration, with sympathy, with thankfulness to God that there have been and are such men in the Anglican ministry, with keen interest, with compassion, and if at times with a little amusement, that amusement is a genial and kindly sentiment, very far from the laugh of the scorner. We should tremble to scorn men, who may be, personally, and according to their lights, more zealous servants of Christ than ourselves.

The very goodness of Pusey and of men like Pusey becomes a snare to them and their followers. The snare is old enough. From one variety of it the first preachers of Christianity had to labour to deliver souls. 'See what an excellent man this Gamaliel is: is he not saved in Judaism? can't I be saved with him in the practices of the Old Law? What need of this New Law of Christ?' St. Paul's Epistles answer that question.



The Fathers were continually confronted by the excellent lives led by Pagans. 'Can God need anything more?' people asked. 'Do you want me to be better than Socrates?' 'No, but I want you to do what Socrates would probably have done, had he seen things as God now shows them to you. Socrates did not resist the known truth, as you stand in some danger of doing.' Something of this sort St. Augustine might have replied. The snare is set with special adaptation for Anglican Catholics. In that snare, we believe, Dr. Pusey was honestly caught himself; and in all honesty he set it for others. But a snare it remains. These are specimens of it:

God does not bless us through a lie. But He does bless us through the Power of the Keys and through the Holy Eucharist. They must be then what we believe them to be.<sup>1</sup>

God has attested His Sacraments among us. Therefore we are in the Church. . . . He has judged their profanation terribly. The graces which have followed upon good Communions have been marvellous. So have the fruits of individual Confession and Absolution.<sup>2</sup>

His grace through the Power of the Keys is too evident, too attested, too manifold, for any one to doubt it. One might as well question the blind man's having been healed, as that Absolution among us is a means of grace, loosing the bonds of sin, cleansing the soul, and a channel of grace. I could as soon doubt my existence. So also as to the Holy Eucharist. Our Lord's presence there is as certain as anything can be. It has been attested in awe to those who sinned against it, not discerning the Lord's Body, in signal punishment; and it has been attested in love, often by sensible grace, but also more largely by the increase of grace in the soul. But God does not work through a lie. When the Dissenters gain good from prayer, from reading Holy Scripture, from acts of faith and love, and trust in our Lord, that is all according to God's promise. He has promised His blessing to those who do seek Him. And if they seek Him in sincerity, not knowing more, He is with them by virtue of the Baptism by which they were made members of Him. But in like way, in the Church of England, He blesses through what is real and true, true Absolutions, true Sacraments.<sup>3</sup>

One cannot think that the fruits that we have seen are not the fruits of the Church.<sup>4</sup>

I once sent one to dear John Keble to get settled as to some Romeward unsettlement. He stayed a fortnight at Hursley. John Keble did not say a word of controversy, but lived. At the end of the time my friend told me that he was quite settled and could work heartily in the English Church.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 195.<sup>2</sup> P. 218.<sup>3</sup> P. 200.<sup>4</sup> P. 191.<sup>5</sup> P. 289.



We admit the facts as stated, apart from the explanations given and the inferences drawn. To us they are susceptible of a very different explanation. We find the key in Dr. Pusey's own words, above cited, about Dissenters. We say of Anglicans, who are our Dissenters: "If they seek God in sincerity, not knowing more, He is with them by virtue of the Baptism by which they were made members of Him." Grace, happily, is not confined to Roman Catholics: but in every denomination, "he that feareth God and worketh justice" is, so far forth, "acceptable to God."<sup>1</sup> This holds especially of the Baptized. Sacramental absolution and the Holy Eucharist are for the Baptized. When then a baptized man humbly and contritely confesses his sins, and in faith of the power of the Keys craves absolution of one whom he takes to be Christ's minister, God is all readiness to forgive, and will forgive the man for his contrition, his faith, and his humility, through the merits of Jesus Christ. The grace is *ex opere operantis*, thanks to the devotion of the receiver, not *ex opere operato*, by the working of the Sacrament. It is as though a Catholic, away from any priest, were to confess his sins with contrition to God, or, as used to be done formerly in such a case, to a deacon, or even to a layman. And so of the Holy Eucharist. *Sacramenta propter homines*. The sacraments are for man, not for Roman Catholics only, but for every man, especially for every baptized man. Our Lord in the Holy Eucharist is longing to communicate His graces to all the world. When then He beheld Dr. Pusey, in the early morning hours, while the University all around him was buried in slumber, doing to the best of his ability and knowledge the solemn act which his Saviour had appointed to be done in memory of His death, our Saviour's Heart would be quite otherwise than as the Church gives us to understand it, if He had not blessed that good man's sincerity and devotion. So doubtless He has blessed, and continues to bless the sincerity and devotion of many other Anglican Eucharists.<sup>2</sup> Still the

<sup>1</sup> Acts x. 35.

<sup>2</sup> "At the age of sixty it was his habit, when at Christ Church, to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in his own house every day, generally at four o'clock in the morning. He had received special permission from Bishop Wilberforce to do so. He used for this purpose a marble slab, which was placed on a small table in his study, on which table stood the picture of the Head of our Lord, supposed to be by Murillo, which his brother Philip brought for him from Spain. This picture now hangs over the altar in the Chapel of the Pusey House in Oxford, and the marble slab which he used has been let into the surface of the wooden altar beneath it." (Editors' Preface, p. xii.)

blessing is upon the man, not upon the rite. The blessing is the fruit of his devotion, not of the Anglican Sacrament. Pusey would have replied : ' According to this view, God blesses us through a lie.' Not so : your devotion is not a lie, and through that and for that He blesses you, as He may bless the partakers of the Sacrament in a Scotch kirk or a Dissenting chapel. Other things being equal, God would seem to bless the High Church Anglican above the rest : because that man has a fuller faith in those two great mysteries, the Real Presence and the power of the Keys. The man in fact makes spiritual Confessions and spiritual Communion, Confessions and Communion of desire, but not sacramental. The Anglican gets more, because he desires more ; and he desires more, because he believes more of the mystery.

Thus far we presume, as we are bound in charity to presume, and have much evidence for presuming, the good faith of the Anglican communicant. But let us imagine a case in which good faith is wanting, and the man knows well enough that he ought to be a Catholic, and is not a Catholic unless he be a Roman Catholic, and yet will not become one. Is it impossible for that man to have devotion in his Communion? True devotion he cannot have : because that would be encouragement to him from the Holy Spirit to go on communicating at Anglican altars, a thing that in his conscience he knows he ought to do no longer. The Holy Spirit cannot encourage a man in the violation of his conscience, cannot encourage him in what he knows to be a false religion, cannot countenance formal heresy and schism. That would be to bless a lie, which God cannot do. But, as St. Ignatius and other ascetic theologians point out, there is such a thing as false consolation. " The devil," says St. Ignatius in his *Spiritual Exercises*, " when he finds a man going from one mortal sin to another, is wont to put before him visionary delights, the better to keep him on and accelerate him in his career of sin." Formal heresy is a terrible state to live in. It is " a career of sin," " going from one mortal sin to another," sins of resistance to the known truth.

But let us not suppose formal heresy. An Anglican, we will say, does not yet see that the Church in communion with the See of Peter is the true Church : therefore he ought not yet to join it. But he is experiencing what Pusey calls " some Romeward unsettlement." Meanwhile his Anglican Com-

munions fill him with extraordinary sensible devotion. What is to be thought of that? It may be of God, as I have explained. But it may not. Another rule of the *Spiritual Exercises* comes in here. "It is proper to the evil angel, who transforms himself into an angel of light, to enter in by the door of the devout soul, and go out by his own door: that is, to bring in good and holy sentiments, suited to the just soul, and then gradually to compass his own end, and make the soul the victim of his hidden frauds and perverse intentions." So this devotion may be Satan's bait to detain the soul away from Catholic truth and unity. Once the notion of being a Catholic of the Roman obedience is given up, the devotion may cease and perhaps all regard for the Holy Eucharist. The bait has done its work. Therefore we are advised never to trust important issues to the arbitrament of mere sentiments of devotion: but to go into the reasons of the matter, and weigh them one against another before God.

Still it may be asked: 'How could God leave such earnest and prayerful men as Pusey and Keble in the Anglican body, if that body were not part of the Church? how could such men be suffered to lead their lives of holiness in the entanglements of even material heresy?' This is a question that we might well decline to answer, on this sufficient ground, that we are not admitted to the counsels of the Most High. Any answer that we may return must be guess-work, perhaps a childish surmise. There are however two principles for resting some sort of surmise upon. The first is Molina's celebrated doctrine, that God knows not only what a man does and will do, but also what he would do under circumstances which never will occur. The second is an axiom among directors of consciences, not to give, unasked, information of a duty, which a person is neglecting in honest ignorance, and would be pretty sure still to leave unfulfilled, if the duty were brought to his notice. There is such a thing, relatively, as too much light, that is, light which, if given, would not be followed. May not God in mercy stop this relative excess of light from certain good souls, and so save them in ignorance who would have been lost with knowledge? Let any one who knows Oxford say what a Canonry of Christ Church means to any man, what it must have meant to a man like Pusey,—think of his going out of that quadrangle and those precincts of seeming sanctity, his life's work abandoned and disowned, and 'Apostate,' to other than angels' eyes, written

broad across his brow! Newman was a stronger man than Pusey, and the agony of his conversion we know.

On two points Dr. Pusey was vigorously Protestant, Papal supremacy and infallibility, and the cultus of Mary. He considered them unwarranted additions to the original revelation of Christ. "To me the crux has always been the excessive cultus of the Blessed Virgin."<sup>1</sup> "All depends upon the one question, . . . that our Lord left one Visible Head. This contradicts all early history of the Church. . . . Rome acquired that power by human means."<sup>2</sup> "The Vatican Council was the greatest sorrow that I ever had in a long life."<sup>3</sup> And much more to the same effect. It is a surprising thing to say, but we believe it accounts for all these difficulties on Pusey's part: *he never had sufficient faith in the Church.* He never fathomed the fulness of the promises of Christ, that the gates of hell should never prevail against His Church, that the Holy Ghost should permanently guide her to all truth.<sup>4</sup> He thought it possible, he thought it a fact, that in the course of ages the government of the Church had come to be usurped by a power which our Lord had not created, which nevertheless ruled in His name, and drew support from words of His which certainly do go far to countenance such pretensions. If the Papal power is a usurpation, what has the Holy Ghost been doing in the Church? This is a question which never went home to Dr. Pusey. Or again, if the Pope is not infallible, if the General Council that ruled him to be so is not infallible, is there any infallible religious teaching anywhere? The whole body of baptized men are not a teaching body; they are not a body of one mind or one utterance; there is no mystery of Christianity which is not denied by a considerable number of baptized men. It remains that our Lord erected a dogmatic Church,—for the Apostolic Church certainly was dogmatic, as the Epistle to the Galatians and the Epistles of St. John show,—and yet left no accessible authority to determine dogma,—which is absurd. Would Dr. Pusey have fallen back, as the Archbishop of Canterbury did the other day, upon the Privy Council?<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 219.      <sup>2</sup> P. 195.      <sup>3</sup> P. 220.

<sup>4</sup> St. Matt. xvi. 18; St. John xiv. 16, 17; xvi. 13.

<sup>5</sup> As for General Councils, Dr. Pusey (p. 222) refers to a "long list" of "distresses," connected with them. But for the Holy See, which in most cases convened them, and in all cases made them legitimate, Councils calling themselves General would long ago have wrecked the Church.

The following lines are not worthy of Dr. Pusey; they would have been received with rapture at Exeter Hall.

General Councils and Popes acted as if the Infallibility of the Pope were untrue. One of the greatest Popes (Gregory I.) said, 'I venerate the four General Councils as I do the four Gospels,' whereas according to this theory, he might have written them himself. The Article of the Creed would have to be changed. Instead of 'I believe one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church' it must run 'I believe the Lord Pope,' since he is the one authentic channel of revelation; what he declares to be true is true.

Infallibility is not inspiration. The Pope is not inspired. He is not instructed in theology by God the Holy Ghost. He must read his infallible decree from some human record. He can read it only from the record of the Church. He must study the mind of the Church and then declare it. His privilege is this, that he reads and declares the mind of the Church without error, when he declares it officially to the whole world. The Church is infallible, and the Pope is her mouthpiece. As the Vatican decree runs, he is "possessed of that infallibility wherewith our Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed." Papal infallibility is the infallibility of the Church. The Church cannot go one way, and the Pope have to call it back to go another. The Pope hears the Church, and then speaks: the Church hears him, and knows her own mind by his proclaiming it. There have been times when it was difficult for the Church to know her own mind, for instance, in the predominance of Jansenism. Jansenism was a thorough revision of Christianity: was it in a Catholic sense? There was much logical acumen in Jansenism. The Jansenists affected to know 'the whole counsel of God.' The reader should study the history of the long and laborious consultations which Clement XI. set on foot. He was about to exercise his infallibility. But he did not, to borrow Newman's phrase, exercise it "in his travelling habit," or at a wayside inn. He did not sign the decree with the ease of a wealthy man signing a £500 cheque. He prayed and consulted and took counsel of his brethren. So came forth the *Unigenitus*, which, if we may be pardoned the expression, clean knocked the bottom out of Jansenism. Henceforth the Church knew her mind clearly; Jansenism was not Christianity. Earlier Popes, and later Popes too, have defined the faith, *sacro approbante Concilio*. The Bishops, individually and collectively, are also judges of faith. The collective Episcopate is infallible.

It has never been known that a Council, fairly representative of the whole Episcopate, has ruled a point of faith one way, and any Pope, addressing the whole Church, has failed to concur in that ruling.

Similarly, as the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, which defined the Immaculate Conception, shows, that definition was not issued without the judgment of the Episcopate throughout the world being taken and considered for years. The greater part of the Bull is occupied with proving the consensus of ecclesiastical belief and teaching, upon which the Pope was about to act. Had his Infallibility been as Dr. Pusey saw it, the Bull would have been couched in some seven lines. There is nothing despotic, nothing even prophetic, in the Pope's exercise of infallibility. He does not begin his Constitutions with, *Thus saith the Lord*.

"It is palpable that there have been additions to the primitive faith."<sup>1</sup> Prominent among these, to Dr. Pusey's mind, was the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. 'What did St. John Chrysostom,' Pusey might have triumphantly asked, 'know of the Immaculate Conception?' To which question we should reply with another. Take a doctrine which Dr. Pusey himself held, the doctrine of original sin. 'What did St. John Chrysostom know of original sin?' From a pretty close study of the Holy Doctor's Homilies on the Romans, we have risen with the conviction, that while St. Chrysostom believed in original sin, he was far from having that clear and distinct idea of it which would now be required of a student at a theological examination. Where the notion of original sin is obscure, that of the Immaculate Conception cannot be clear. In early tradition the Mother of God was simply of ἡ ἀμύαντος, 'the stainless,' 'the sinless;' no question of sin was to be mooted, when she was mentioned, as St. Augustine says. When the doctrine of original sin had been elaborated with precision by St. Augustine, the question arose whether the Sinless Virgin was sinless even in the matter of this primeval stain. Some one used the word 'Conception,' no necessary part of the doctrine; for the idea of 'absolute sinlessness' covers all. Then some unhappy person thought there was question of the 'active conception,' whereby Mary became Mother of God; and between 'active conception,' which was not the question, and 'passive conception,' which was the question, the issue was confounded, and contradiction arose

<sup>1</sup> P. 197.

in the schools. Thus centuries went by before the term 'Immaculate Conception' got its meaning: no one ever pretends that the term was known to the Apostles. The doctrine, when clearly stated, was denied; but the sympathies of the Church ran strongly against the denial, more and more strongly and decidedly until in 1854 the doctrine came to be a point of defined faith. This is the view of the matter within the Catholic pale, a domestic history, ill observed by Dr. Pusey from without.

A locomotive does not develop any new powers on the journey. A mile or two from the station its action is just what it will be at fifty miles. It comes in, the thing that it went out for, with all its wonderful powers, it is a machine, and does not live. But the Church does live, passing from infancy through youth to maturity. In the fulness of her age she presents a system of doctrine and discipline, as like and at the same time as unlike to the recorded doctrine and discipline of the first century, as the woods in June are like and unlike what they were in March. We have given an instance of the unfolding of doctrine in the Immaculate Conception. So in discipline the action of the Papal prerogative was gradually unfolded. "By human means," says Dr. Pusey:<sup>1</sup> so the Gospel was preached by human means, but those human means were intended by Christ, and guided by His Spirit. "Development cannot be from a contradictory:"<sup>2</sup> but no contradiction is proved, or provable. There has been no contradiction: but there has been much unfolding. Precisely to guard against any illegitimate development of the apostolic tradition, was the Holy Spirit given permanently to the Church. The overlooking of this indwelling Spirit was the source of Dr. Pusey's theological errors.

There are historical inaccuracies also, as that "Papal infallibility was vehemently denied at the Vatican Council,"<sup>3</sup>—it was the opportuneness of defining it that was made the head of the controversy:<sup>4</sup> that the Greek Church does not receive the doctrine of Purgatory,<sup>5</sup>—it does not receive the doctrine of

<sup>1</sup> P. 195.<sup>2</sup> P. 222.<sup>3</sup> P. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Bishop Dupanloup writing to the Archbishop of Malines, 1 March, 1870, protests against the attempt, *transformer ainsi en adversaires de l'infaillibilité ceux même qui ne le seraient que de l'opportunité*. The doctrine itself was denied by some: still more were certain exaggerations of the doctrine, then current, "vehemently denied," and finally set aside by the Council. The Ayes carried the definition, the Nones protected it from exaggeration.

<sup>5</sup> P. 207.

the fire of Purgatory, nor does the Latin Church teach that doctrine as of faith, as the history of the Council of Florence shows: or lastly, the insinuations<sup>1</sup> about the false Decretals,—did Dr. Pusey ever study the Register of the Letters of St. Gregory the Great, showing Papal supremacy active all the world over, two hundred years before the Decretals were heard of?

We fear these Letters are destined to do harm. The bulk of them is not anti-Roman, not controversial at all. Indeed with some three quarters of their contents a Catholic would entirely concur. They are not comparable with a Saint's Letters, with the Letters of St. Francis Xavier, for instance, or those of St. Francis of Sales; but they breathe a piety earnest and venerable. Just on that account will the publication do harm. The goodness of the book will make what is evil in it tell. For there is objective evil in these pages, subtle perversion of Catholic truth, and ingenious deterrents from Catholic unity. Sad to think of the name and fame of a good man fathering upon the world a deleterious mixture of Gallicanism and Protestantism.

JOSEPH RICKABY.

<sup>1</sup> P. 209.



### "What The Soldier Said."

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THE younger Mr. Weller was better known to a past generation than to the present ; but certain incidents connected with his history are still matters of common knowledge, and certain phrases associated with his career, such as that which heads this paper, have passed into literature. For the benefit of the unlearned, it may be well to recall the circumstances under which it was uttered.

Mr. Samuel Weller was in the habit of illustrating his remarks, and fortifying his statements, by references to the more or less analogous sayings and doings of others. That these acts and utterances were presumably fictitious does not detract from their appositeness and general utility ; and indeed, the practice of bolstering up assertions by the citation of parables, real or assumed, is by no means extinct. These *obiter dicta*, as Dr. Horton would probably call them, were usually, no doubt, estimated at their proper value ; but when uttered before a Judge on the bench, a different view of them was entertained. It was in the *cause célèbre* of "*Bardell v. Pickwick*," that Mr. Weller, having been asked by counsel whether there was "little to do and plenty to get" in Mr. Pickwick's service, replied, "Oh, quite enough to get, sir, as the soldier said ven they ordered him three hundred and fifty lashes." Whereupon the Judge interposed : "You must not tell us what the soldier, or any other man, said ; it's not evidence," thus summing up in a phrase what has passed into a proverb of the English law upon an important subject.

The English law of evidence, which is merely the condensed result of long experience, may be stated briefly as follows : Wherever, in a civil or criminal trial, a fact is to be proved, the law of evidence insists that you shall either give *the best evidence*, or none at all. If it is an occurrence which is to be proved by witnesses, each of them can speak only to those facts for which he can vouch the testimony of his own five senses. If one of these proposes to give evidence as to what some one else

told him that he saw, that witness will be sternly stopped. If such an allegation is material, "the soldier" must be found, and must speak for himself. If he cannot be produced for cross-examination, "what he said" about the matter is regarded in an English court as nothing. So if the point in question is the contents of a document, the English law is inexorable. Nothing will avail except the production of the document itself—unless, of course, the Judge be first satisfied that the original no longer exists, or is withheld by the other side, or cannot by diligent research be brought into court. If, for example, a trader sues upon a written agreement, and says that the original is with his bankers in India, but that he has here an accurate copy, which was made by a most respectable solicitor, he will nevertheless be driven from the judgment-seat. He must get that original somehow, or hold his tongue about its contents.

And the reason of these seemingly rigid rules is very clear. Against either a prisoner at the bar, or a civil defendant, no testimony should be weighed except that which the party charged has an opportunity of testing before the tribunal itself, so that the Judge or jury may form an independent judgment as to its accuracy. The opportunities and the causes of inaccuracy in hearsay statements, or of error even in copies supposed to be most careful, are legion. A statement repeated at third and fourth hand is almost certain to have been altered on the way; so long as the original author of it is not produced for cross-examination, it is hopeless to try and disentangle the possibilities of bias, or mistake, or mendacity, or inaccuracy, or forgetfulness. "The soldier," in the common way of life, has probably more or less misunderstood whatever he did see of the matter. "What he said" was probably not even his complete and careful memory of it; the account of what he said as stated by, let us say, Mr. Samuel Smith's friend's late husband's minister's informant—even supposing that all of them were free from bias and skilled in exact narration, and anxious solely to transmit the naked truth—is obviously likely to mislead the jury. And the court, which knows human nature much too well, supposes that as a rule the transmitters of tales are much like other men, and highly liable to err.

I propose in this paper to examine by the test above given the kind of evidence which Protestants of the "Alliance" type consider sufficient for support of the multitudinous and serious

charges which they bring, not only against the Catholic Church, but against their own fellow-churchmen, whom they accuse of "Romanizing," or at least of "Romanizing tendencies." It would be impossible to deal adequately with the inexhaustible material which is supplied weekly by the Protestant press, and I can only take two or three individual cases as types of the rest. And I propose to select these, not from the rank and file of Protestantism, still less from the "lewd fellows of a baser sort" (to whom the qualifying adjective too often applies in its restricted modern sense), who make a living by pandering to Protestant bigotry by the sale of publications which they know to be obscene, and by the delivery of lectures which can best attract, and are intended to attract, a certain class of hearers. I will take the utterances of men of acknowledged position, of the highest respectability; men who take a front seat on the platform at Protestant gatherings, and not unfrequently stimulate Protestant enthusiasm by their fervid, if turgid, eloquence. And I will deal first with Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., who is announced to speak, on the last day of January, at the "Great United Protestant Demonstration," at the Albert Hall, to be held "under the auspices of forty-three Protestant societies."

Mr. Samuel Smith is in some respects an interesting survival, not only because his Protestantism is of a somewhat antiquated type, but because he was one of a contemporary group of members of the House of Commons who were in the habit of conducting religious gatherings in the Protestant interest, three of whom—Mr. Jabez Balfour, Captain Verney, and Mr. De Cobain—subsequently left the scene of their parliamentary triumphs, not altogether willingly, to retire to places where ample time is provided for reflection and meditation. Mr. Smith, however, remains a pillar of evangelical religion, and his respectability is unquestioned. His latest public utterance is in support of one of the myths, dear to the Protestant mind, which has for its basis the supposed existence of Jesuits in the Church of England—one of the most dearly cherished articles of the Protestant faith.

This view, familiar to the oldest of us from our infancy, and dating back into "the infinite azure of the past," received fresh currency early in 1898 from its espousal by the Protestant Bishop of Liverpool, who thought it impossible to doubt its truth. Inquiries elicited the fact that his lordship was entirely dependent for his authority on "what the soldier said," and

some one wrote to Cardinal Vaughan about it, who was courteous enough to write a letter clearly showing what one would have thought needed no demonstration—that such an arrangement was impossible. It is unnecessary to say that the Cardinal's statement was received by true Protestants with incredulity; it was asserted, and obviously with reason from the Protestant standpoint, that His Eminence could not be expected to tell the truth on such a subject, especially as "Signor Gavazzi, many years ago," spoke of "Jesuits and monks in disguise, paid by English clergymen." "I am an ex-priest and an ex-monk, and know this; I can state this positively," said the illustrious orator.<sup>1</sup> Who would take a Roman Cardinal's word in preference to that of Signor Gavazzi?

Certainly not Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P.: so at a meeting of the Nonconformist Political Council, held on November 15, he said that "only the other day it had come to his knowledge that a young man had been ordained for the Church of England, and at the same ordination three avowed Roman Catholics were also ordained, their excuse being that they had a dispensation from the Pope to do so."

This statement was of course amply sufficient to convince any Protestant of average intelligence. But folk are a queer mixture of reason and unreason, and although no truly Protestant newspaper so far forgot itself as to call Mr. Smith's statement in question, others were not so considerate. It was not perhaps to be wondered at that the *Church Times* promptly cast doubt upon the story, and even ventured to opine that the narrator "had been the victim of a hoax." But the *Daily Chronicle*—no doubt influenced by the Roman bias which Dr. Horton (and no one else) detects in the management of that erratic organ of opinion—was "deluged with indignant letters," protesting against the publicity which it had given to Mr. Smith's statement. The rumour of these letters (for it does not appear that he ever saw them) reached Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., in his Liverpool retreat, and he forthwith proceeded to justify himself as follows:

I understand that there has been some correspondence in your paper regarding a statement I made at the Nonconformist Council in London last Tuesday. Probably the abbreviation of the report (which I have not seen) may somewhat have misled your readers.

The facts are as follows:—A friend of mine, a well-known and

<sup>1</sup> See *English Churchman*, August 11, 1898, p. 516.

esteemed Presbyterian minister of London, informed me this year that a lady who had been a member of the Church of England, joined his Church several years ago because she was shocked at what had come under her notice. I quote from a letter she wrote to my friend a few months ago.

"The circumstances, as I remember them, were as follows:—While my brother-in-law was at — College, he knew of three young men like himself preparing for ordination in the Church of England who were Roman Catholics; and, on his expressing his wonder that their consciences would allow of this, was told 'that the Pope would see to this, and put them all right.' I am sorry, owing to Mr. — having passed away last year, I cannot refer you to him personally."

I do not give names as the letter was private, and the lady does not wish to be known, but the account is quite trustworthy, and I understand from my friend that those three men were ordained, but of course the Bishop would be ignorant of the fact here stated.

I may add that this is not the only case of the kind which has come under my notice.

It will at once be observed that compared with Mr. Smith's notion of evidence, Mr. Weller's incidental introduction, even of a purely hypothetical personage, is simple and direct. In Mr. Smith's case, it was the soldier who told him that a lady unnamed told *him* several years ago that, to the best of her recollection, her deceased brother-in-law once told *her* that he knew of three young men who told *him* that the Pope "would put them all right"!

On the publication of the above letter, a "well-known Liberal Churchman" wrote to the *Chronicle* publicly challenging Mr. Smith (who, it will be observed, distinctly states that this is "not the only case of the kind that has come under his notice") to "produce publicly the name of one single man now living as an ordained minister of the English Church who, at the time of his ordination, was a member of the Roman Catholic Church;" and he offers to give a hundred guineas to any Nonconformist charity on the production of such name. I presume the term "liberal" refers merely to his opinions, for of course the "Churchman" knew perfectly well that he ran no risk in making this offer, which he concludes by saying: "If he [Mr. Smith] cannot do this, for the sake of his own reputation, I think he had better hold his peace in the future." But this is just what Mr. Smith, M.P., will not do—is he not speaking at the "Great United Protestant Demonstration"?—and as for his "reputation," no one who knows Protestant

literature will suppose that it will be even smirched by a little escapade of this kind. I have heard of a Bible in which uncomfortable passages are enclosed in brackets, so that they might be omitted at discretion: and I have long been convinced that a certain commandment is supposed by Protestant orators to run, "Thou shalt [not] bear false witness against thy neighbour." Folks who are not ashamed to support with their money and with their presence men who have served terms of imprisonment for vile offences, and persons who make their living to a considerable extent by the sale of obscene literature, are not likely to be scrupulous when it is merely a question of slandering their religious opponents.

Passing by the difficulty with the Bishop of Chichester, in which Mr. Smith involved himself by his utterances on the Confessional in Parliament, on June 21, 1898, I will call attention to another example of his notion of evidence. In the first edition of his widely circulated pamphlet, *The Claims of Rome*, he quotes at length from Miss Golding's extraordinary narrative of her convent experiences. Among the statements quoted are those narrating to the poison administered in food as punishment, the falling dead of sisters at their desks, and, what one would have thought might have raised suspicion in the commercial mind, however Protestant, that for Miss Golding's teaching "the convent received £20 a week in payments from parents—a thousand a year for twenty-five years." Mr. Smith, however, definitely commits himself to them: "I see no reason to doubt the truth of Miss Golding's statements," he says. Yet *The Claims of Rome* was published in 1896, by which time Father Sydney Smith's unanswerable exposure<sup>1</sup> had taken effect, and Miss Golding had disappeared from Protestant platforms. It seems hardly possible, considering the large amount of correspondence which had taken place in the public journals, that Mr. Samuel Smith could have remained in complete ignorance of her collapse, yet he tells us in his preface that he had "sought only to state undoubted facts."

In his second edition, Mr. Smith neither withdraws nor apologizes for the publication of false statements. He is content to say that—

The severe criticism to which this pamphlet has been subjected by Roman Catholic writers has lead (*sic*) to a searching revision and some slight corrections have been made:

<sup>1</sup> *Ellen Golding, the Rescued Nun*. Catholic Truth Society. 1d.

these "slight corrections" including the entire omission of all reference to Miss Golding, and various alterations consequent on Father Donnelly's exposure of his misstatements regarding the Scriptures.<sup>1</sup>

His pamphlet is now in its 260th thousand, and has taken its place among the Protestant text-books from which are drawn at second, third, or fourth-hand the calumnies with which Protestant correspondents are ever ready to fill country newspapers.

So much for a Member of Parliament; let us now take an example from the ranks of the Anglican clergy.

The Rev. E. Seymour Terry, Chaplain to the Guardians' Schools at Brighton, has reason to regret his trust in "the soldier." At the Church Association Conference held at Brighton last autumn, according to the *Brighton Gazette*, of November 12th, Mr. Terry said that he had been told by a working-man, "that his daughter, who was only fourteen years old, had left the church and Sunday school because of the Confessional. She refused to tell him or her mother what had been said to her. Was it not a terrible thing that a girl of such tender years should have her modesty shocked and perhaps finally destroyed by such detestable practices?" The Vicar of the church where this was said to have occurred, very properly insisted on a substantiation or withdrawal of this serious charge, and Mr. Terry on the whole maintained it; whereupon the Vicar asked the Bishop to appoint a commission to investigate the case. The commission, which included the Chairman of the meeting at which the charges were made, duly sat, and reported with absolute unanimity that the allegations were utterly groundless. The father of the girl said he had never uttered any such thing, and the girl herself stated that she had never been asked any improper question of any kind. The only possible foundation was the fact that the girl was shy and did not like answering questions before the congregation! "I have interviewed the man," says the Brighton correspondent of the *Church Review* (Dec. 8), "and find that he is horrified at the way a few harmless words were twisted into an attack upon the church he loves and the clergy he esteems so highly."

It is instructive to note the attitude assumed by the delinquent and by the Protestant Press when the finding of

<sup>1</sup> *Rome and the Bible*. By the Rev. T. Donnelly, S.J. Catholic Truth Society. 1d.



the committee was made public. Mr. Terry's expression of regret in reply to one from his Bishop rightly insisting on an apology, partook so much of the nature of a justification of his conduct, and showed so singular a want of appreciation of the seriousness of his offence, that Dr. Wilberforce wrote declining any further communication with him until he had made "a full, frank, and ample apology, made as publicly as was the original charge," which, says his Lordship, "is imperatively demanded of you, unless you would forfeit your character as a Christian and a gentleman, and prove yourself wholly wanting in self-respect." This excessively plain speaking brought the accuser of his brethren to his senses, and his apology was at last ample and satisfactory. Yet, incredible as it may seem, a person who signs himself with singular inappropriateness, "A Lover of Justice," writes to the *Rock* of December 30th a letter, headed, "The Brighton Dreyfus Case," in which he says "there can be little doubt in the mind of any dispassionate person that Mr. Terry's impression of the conversation was correct;" and the editor, a clergyman of the Church of England, says: "The Bishop of Chichester may consider it a glorious vindication of his clergy's honour to accept the statement of an organ-blower's child in preference to one of a highly respected clergyman of his diocese; but plain, unecclesiastical laymen will agree with 'A Lover of Justice' in his view of the Brighton Dreyfus case. The Bishop may rest assured he will hear more of the matter." So that, in the mind of the editor of the *Rock*, not only is what the soldier said evidence, but it is the *only* evidence which is entitled to acceptance, and that even when the soldier has denied that he ever tendered it!

No one who has followed the recent correspondence and controversy in which Dr. Horton has figured so largely, will doubt that "the soldier" is one of his principal authorities; it may indeed be said that he accompanies him in all his public utterances, for he made his appearance in the first of the rev. gentleman's notorious lectures, and was still with him when he denounced the proposed Irish Catholic University in the *Daily News* of December 17th. It was he who supplied Dr. Horton with certain information which the Doctor at first—it is his way—promulgated as within his own knowledge, but later fathered on "the soldier." In his memorable lecture on the

5th of February last—Dr. Horton mentioned "the *fact* that there are some hundreds, I believe about five hundred, clergymen of the Church of England, who have sought and obtained ordination through a papal channel." This attracted the attention of "one of the innumerable names that afflict the life of every man who has to speak in public with irrelevant or insolent Jesuitical letters"—need I say that I am quoting Dr. Horton? The name was that of Mr. R. J. Hawkings, who not only had the disadvantage of being "quite unknown" to Dr. Horton, but also the temerity to call his statement in question. The soldier on this occasion was "a clergyman," whose name—as alas! is so often the case—Dr. Horton "was not at liberty to mention," as "his informant might object to it." It is to such reticence that the world's ignorance of its greatest men is largely attributable. The *Church Times*, who in its "rudeness and vague interrogation" (Dr. Horton again) behaved almost as badly as a Catholic newspaper, thus summed up the position:

Dr. Horton . . . has been good enough to look into the *bona fides* of the English Church. Prompted by his laudable desire, he has allowed himself to become the receptacle of old wives' fables to a remarkable extent. Amongst these, is one which states that there are 500 clergy who, dissatisfied with the character of their English orders, have sought re-ordination from a Roman source, and are still working in the Church of England. As a correspondent in another column shows, he has been challenged to substantiate his statement, and has replied to the effect that he can substantiate everything he said on the subject. That being the case, we challenge him to produce the evidence, and if it be found to be trustworthy and undeniable, we will engage to do our small part in an attempt to remove so great a scandal. On the other hand, if it shall be found that Dr. Horton has discovered a mare's nest, the least he can do is to withdraw the statement, and make an apology for its circulation.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite unnecessary to add that Dr. Horton has neither produced the evidence, withdrawn the statement, nor made an apology; indeed, it would be difficult to say which of these three alternatives—which have been presented to him on several occasions—he would find it most difficult to accept.

Passing over an army of similar soldiers, we come to the latest addition to Dr. Horton's regiment, masquerading this time as "a most cultivated English lady," who writes about "a Parisian baronne, a woman of impressive appearance and

<sup>1</sup> *Church Times*, April 7, 1898.

apparently [so deceptive are appearances!] great intelligence, known moreover to be *très dévote*." This anonymous lady was at tea at some unnamed place in Switzerland, and her son, "a distinguished [but nameless] Parisian *avocat*," was with her. Having expressed her dislike to Dreyfus, she "passed to a diatribe against his race," whereupon an Englishman (name unknown) remarked that our Lord Himself was a Jew. "Oh," replied the baronne, "my director, the Abbé —, of Paris, a very learned man, clearly explained to me that that is an entire fabrication, and that our Lord was not of Jewish race." Nor could the "interlocutor" obtain further explanation, for the lady intimated that baronnes "never answer questions"—at least on religious subjects. From this story Dr. Horton draws the moral, that "we as Liberals are entitled to ask for some guarantees that obscurantism of this kind should not be in any way supported by the national purse or the national authority"<sup>1</sup> and that therefore we must oppose a Catholic University for Ireland. It cannot be wondered at that, shortly after this article appeared, Dr. Horton's congregation decided that he needed rest, and insisted on his taking a three months' holiday. I hope that, for his own sake, they also made a proviso that pens, ink, and paper should be kept out of his way during that period.

But the mystery which surrounds so many of Dr. Horton's methods is not absent from this last episode. His article synchronized with the appearance of the anecdote in the *Spectator*, but Dr. Horton does not appear to have seen it in that paper, nor does he give it as a quotation, although it is couched in absolutely the same words. Dr. Horton, as we know, has his own mode of citation; but the curious part of the matter is that, when challenged to supply the name of the "most cultivated English lady," he only does so in confidence to the editor of the *Daily News*, as he could not "give her name without her permission;" the joke being that her name appears in full, with her address, at the foot of her contribution to the *Spectator*!

Dr. Horton's affection for "the soldier" is such that he regards what he "said" as of equal, if not superior, authority with that of the person involved in his statement. Witness the following. In the *Westminster Gazette* of Nov. 19th, Dr. Horton is reported as having said: "At Maynooth preparation for journalism forms almost as much a part of the regular course as that for the priesthood." To this the President of Maynooth

<sup>1</sup> *Daily News*, Dec. 17, 1898.

replied: "There is not the shadow of a foundation for the statement." The innocent and sanguine might suppose that in the face of this direct contradiction from the man who of all others must be best acquainted with the facts of the case, Dr. Horton would have withdrawn his statement. Not a bit of it; he calls in "the soldier" and stands by him. In the *Catholic Herald* of Nov. 10th is a letter from Dr. Horton, in which he says: "I mentioned that *I had been informed* that at Maynooth men were trained for journalism. You now [Dr. Horton's letter is dated Nov. 29th, and the Maynooth contradiction was published on Nov. 22nd] inform me that the President of Maynooth denies it. The two statements are contradictory, but I am responsible for neither, and have no means of knowing which is correct"!

Another of Dr. Horton's soldiers, described this time as "a friend," went into the Brompton Oratory and "found that the verse in one of Faber's sweetest and best-known hymns, which expressed the idea that God was larger than their thought, . . . was omitted from the hymn-book. Was it not significant that Faber's doctrine was rejected in that way?"<sup>1</sup>—and "is it not significant" of the danger of trusting to "the soldier" that the verse—

For the love of God is wider  
Than the measure of man's mind—

is duly given in the Oratory Hymn-book?

Another controversialist who is greatly indebted to "the soldier" is the Rev. Arthur Brinckman, who has for many years contributed columns of tittle-tattle ostensibly devoted to "The Doings of Rome"—to two Anglican newspapers. On March 11, 1898, Mr. Brinckman's column in the *Illustrated Church News* contained the following item: "A Roman Catholic journal, published in Brussels, has come out with a very truculent article, expressing its readiness to join in killing Protestants!"

When asked for the authority for this statement, the *Illustrated Church News* replied (March 18th): "The statement was in an evening paper, copied from the *Journal de Bruxelles*, and it mentioned that it was a journal that was a Roman Catholic organ."

A further attempt to elicit at least the name of "the soldier," produced the following private reply from Mr. Brinckman (March 30th): "The item from the *Journal de Bruxelles* was

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Horton, as reported in *Middlesex Independent*, Dec. 17, 1898.

taken from an evening paper, *I think* the *Evening Standard* or *Echo* of March 2nd last." In his public statement, however (*Illustrated Church News*, April 1st), Mr. Brinckman expresses no doubt as to the paper. He writes: "The extract from the *Roman Journal* at Bruxelles, expressing readiness to join in killing Protestants, appeared in the *Evening Standard* of March 2nd."

It will be observed that Mr Brinckman takes the opportunity of repeating the unpleasant and improbable statement, which he had at best derived at second-hand from a paper the name of which he could not recall. I have only to add that I could find no such "extract" in the copies of the *Echo* or the *Evening Standard* which I was able to consult; but it is fair to say that this does not prove it was not in some other edition, as the contents of the same evening paper vary with the time of publication. But in any case "what the soldier said is not evidence," and I remain unconvinced that the *Journal de Bruxelles* expressed "readiness to join in killing Protestants."

Among the notes I jotted down for this article I find the words "Lady Wimborne's donkey;" and now, just as I am finishing, comes the *Church Times* telling me all about it. That animal was an old friend, for thirty years ago Canon Bernard Smith told me how the Wycombe chair-makers used to visit the Catholic chapel at Marlow on Palm Sunday, in the belief that he on that day rode round the church on a donkey. Lady Wimborne, as is well known, published an article directed against Ritualism in the *Nineteenth Century* for October last, and in the course of it she spoke of "a procession in which a donkey, bearing a lay figure of our Lord, was led up the aisle by the choirmen, provoking laughter on the part of some and hysteria among others." This was narrated on the authority of a governess, and it would seem that Lady Wimborne took some trouble to establish the truth of the story, for to an application for further information she courteously replied that the service took place in West Croydon, at a mission church near the station, in 1890. Here the matter might have remained, had not a Mrs. Howard of Ealing, come forward as Lady Wimborne's informant, and expressed a wish to know what was complained of. I condense what follows from the letter of the Rev. A. S. Wilde, Rector of Louth, published in the *Church Times* of Jan. 13th.

I said my complaint was that "Lady Wimborne should have accepted and published as a 'fact' a statement for which inquiry would

have satisfied her that there was no foundation." I added that if Mrs. Howard asserted that there was foundation for Lady Wimborne's statement, I must ask her to give me "the date, the name of the church, and the service of which the alleged procession was a part."

After some correspondence and pressure Mrs. Howard, on Dec. 24, wrote,—"the occasion was Palm Sunday, 1890, when I saw the donkey paraded in what I supposed, and was given to understand, was a Church of England place of worship."

In reply I ventured to suggest that, "in the ambiguity of this statement probably lies the solution of the contradiction between Mrs. Howard and the clergy of Croydon, who one and all positively assert that no such procession took place on Palm Sunday, 1890, or on any other Sunday in any of their churches or mission chapels." This brought me a letter from Mr. Howard, [who said] "that the service or procession in question was held under the auspices and sanction of the Church of England is beyond dispute, whether in a mission hall or chapel is immaterial."

The "Ritualistic Church" has become now "a mission hall," the aisle and choirmen have disappeared; and the service or procession is under the "auspices and sanction of the Church of England," although the persons who have the occupation of the hall, and are responsible for the ceremonies therein carried out, are not named! as the informants of Lady Wimborne now set out under their own hand.

This paper might be almost indefinitely extended, even were I to confine myself to what is considered evidence by respectable persons, what then would be its length were I to say anything of those whose statements suffice for the evil-minded and bigoted, who gratify more than one base instinct while listening to and delighting in the tales of such men? If what the ordinary soldier said is "not evidence," what shall we say of the tales fabricated by the soldier who has been drummed out of his regiment, by the pretended "regular" who has never been in the service, by the prisoner fresh from the cells, or the convict just returned from the hulks? Yet it is on the word of men of this character—men whose disgraceful antecedents are known and can be, and have been, proved up to the hilt—that our fellow-countrymen are invited to believe every kind of evil of the priests and nuns, of the men and women, of the greatest and the most venerable of Christian communities: and members of Parliament, ministers, local magnates, and the like, are yet to be found who support these men with their money and by their influence!

JAMES BRITTEN.

*Otherwhere.*

CHAPTER I.

IT was a summer evening; the sun was sinking to rest in a mirror-like sea, lighting up its unrippled surface with that calm radiance we never behold but on the rare occasions when winds are lulled and the ocean retains no memory of their former violence.

A young and beautiful woman stood near an open window, gazing on the vast expanse of water which seemed to surround her. The room in the castle she now occupied formed the centre portion of a projecting tower which overhung very far, and yet in that advanced position nothing but the sea was visible. The little port on the north, with its harbour and wharves, was entirely hidden from view, as were also the fortifications on the west. So completely were all terrestrial things shut out that, so far as the eye gave information, the castle might have occupied a solitary rock in mid ocean, with a thousand miles of water on every side.

Near her, seated at a table burdened by many large maps and books, was her brother, an athletic and handsome young man. He had been occupying himself for a long time with arranging in a large note-book various fragmentary scraps of knowledge, such as travellers vainly imagine will prove of service to them when on their wanderings.

When Dymna broke in upon his studies, Sessos closed his manuscript with an exclamation of relief and lighted his cigar. It was the last evening they would spend together for many months—it might be years, for he was about to sail when the moon arose for a far-off land, to make a tour of the world, or at least of so much of it as was known to the high geographical authorities whose counsel he had taken. He hoped, indeed, to do more than this, for the planet's surface has yet many wide tracts, whereon man, or at least civilized man, has not as yet set



his foot. He was perhaps hopeful that, ere he should return, he might be rewarded by discoveries new to science. When that return would take place was something in the far future, on which Dymna did not like to speculate.

Sessos came of a race of explorers. For ages back, in times far more remote than we care to pursue them, the house of which he was a scion had reigned in Naverac. This large island, which some persons, who have but an imperfect grasp of the meanings of the words they use, might be apt to call a continent, formed the chief of a cluster of some seventy others, a few large and many small ones, over which the brother of the young man who is at present our companion ruled as king. The great monarchy of Naverac had grown, as things having life are wont to do, in orderly sequence. It had endured times of religious discord and revolutionary violence; civil wars had not been uncommon, nor was foreign conquest unknown, but of late the times had been peaceful, at home. Such wars as the modern kings of Naverac had waged were almost always fought on a foreign soil. In remote times the monarchy of Naverac had consisted of the northern part of the island only, now it had extended itself very far beyond insular limits, and had, moreover, colonial possessions in many far distant places. It was to visit these outlying domains, and to extend the boundaries of geographical knowledge, that Sessos was about to go forth on his wanderings.

Exploration had been a passion with the house of Naverac. In more remote times, members of the family had founded and given their names to places now famous in arts and history. The most noteworthy of these adventurers had been a former Sessos, after whom Dymna's brother had been named. This elder Sessos was a younger brother of the head of the house who was then reigning, the great-great-grandfather of the young man and woman before us. From all that is known of him, he seems to have been cast in an heroic mould. After carrying on more than one successful war against slave-dealers and other cruel barbarians, he set out on a voyage of discovery towards the Ice Cape. His career had been traced for some distance after he had passed that now well-known point. It was even affirmed that there was evidence of his having entered the estuary of the great River La, which carries off the waters from vast unknown territories, the snows and ice-sheet of which, according to geographers, cover an almost immeasurable mountain area in

the tropics, and extend in both directions into the temperate zones.

From that time Sessos and his two ships had not been heard of. Though the light of history shone well-nigh as brightly in his days as in our own, yet mythology had gathered around his name. To be "as brave" or "as good as Sessos" had become a familiar phrase wherever the language of Naverac was spoken. His striking features were to be seen everywhere. His statue graced the great central square of the capital. His portraits had been multiplied by artists of every degree of ability. They ornamented every picture-gallery, and swung as a sign before the door of many a village wine-shop and ale-house.

A noble full-length portrait, for which the hero had really sat, hung near his namesake, and as Dymna glanced, now on her brother, now on the picture, she felt it hard to realize that her own dear Sessos was not the person represented. This reflection did not give her unmixed pleasure—perhaps, indeed, it was absolutely painful. A cloud of mystery hung over the fate of the elder hero. Her Sessos was about to go forth into the unknown on a similarly adventurous career; might not a similar fate await him?

The brother saw that his sister's heart was troubled. It becomes hard to think of parting from those we really love when the time draws very near. Similar feelings hung shadow-like in the recesses of his own mind, but he spoke cheerfully.

"You do not remember, Dymna," he said, "how very much the world has widened since our great predecessor sallied forth in search of knowledge, a hundred and sixty years ago. Then it must have taken seven or eight weeks to reach the one solitary port in our friend the Duke's domains; now we confidently hope to be there in less than seven days."

"I do not comprehend," Dymna replied, "why you sail direct to the Duke's domain, which is the longer passage. Why do you not go to the imperial city at once, where you know you would receive an affectionate welcome, and from which you could reach the Duke's castle by a few hours' pleasant railway journey on the margin of the sea."

"Because," Sessos answered, "the great city has already far too strong a hold upon me. I and my brother, as you know, spent much of our youth there, and to go back to it would be entering once more an enchanted garden of pleasure. I am going out for work, not for play."

The reply was not entirely satisfactory to Dymna. If the great city were indeed so very attractive, as time was unlimited, why should Sessos not enjoy its pleasures? She knew that he was by no means an ascetic. The brother divined what was passing in his sister's mind. Except on a very few simple occasions, when a mere "yes" or "no" is all that is needed, it is commonly not a little difficult to explain the reasons of our actions. Sessos had on this occasion made up his mind by balancing many conflicting desires and repulsions.

"I cannot make you understand the situation," he said. "The Emperor, amiable old voluptuary that he is, would do many things to serve me—even put himself to some personal inconvenience, I really believe; and, as you have heard Hulon and myself say over and over again, the Princess Fyné is the most charming creature we ever met, yet the place is utterly unfit for Christian folk to dwell in. They cannot stay there without being contaminated by the evils around them. The whole atmosphere alike of Court and city reeks with the corruption of unnumbered centuries—all the sins of past ages, intensified by the civilization of our own time. Fyné, who really governs for her cousin, though personally as good as she is beautiful, though she knows all that I do and much more, so far from trying to make things better and more humane, throws nearly the whole of her great influence into the evil scale. By the open avowal of materialistic atheism, she destroys, in nearly every one who comes under the magnetism of her influence, all ideas of moral responsibility, and all sympathy with any who do not belong to the ruling class, or by intellectual gifts administer to its pleasures. Architecture, painting, music, even poetry itself, do not make up for the patronage and endowment of the seven deadly sins."

Dymna had often heard Sessos and her royal brother speak in this way before, but she only half understood them. An innocent maiden, who had lived all her life in a pure atmosphere, in a State proud of the personal freedom of every inhabitant, and, although disordered by theological strifes, not yet brought to the point of degradation of holding that "every opinion freely conceived is good and moral for him who has conceived it,"—how could she comprehend a society based on slavery, with all its infinite abominations, and where the non-religious cultivation of the intellect was considered the height of blessedness? She had heard both her brothers praise Fyné over and over again, in language which seemed to her not a little exaggerated. And

yet they both of them regarded the society over which this charming being ruled, and for some at least of whose later developments she was directly responsible, as little short of diabolic.

Few persons can contentedly remain in ignorance on any matter which touches the imagination. From infancy Kara had been the city of her dreams, the one spot on earth where, as it seemed, her aspiration after beauty in every form could be in a great degree realized. She had very often talked with Sessos on this subject, and might once more have proceeded to ask questions difficult to answer, had not her brother anticipated her by remarking :

"Our father had the best intentions when he sent my brother and myself to be educated at Kara, and, after all, I believe it has done us good rather than harm. It was, I am sure, a risk upon which he would never have ventured had he known what he was about."

"It seems impossible," said Dymna, in a sad tone, for the thought troubled her, "that one so good as Fyné can be the leading spirit of all this wickedness."

"Many things—most things, indeed—seem impossible till they are proved true. Fyné is a child of her country and her time. From infancy she was brought up with the strictest care for personal honour, and she is more thoughtful and kind than any one I ever saw for those of her own class, in which I think she would include, though of course in a far lower degree than the members of the great races, every one who evinces high literary or artistic merit. I have heard her say indeed that modern science has demonstrated that high intellect can only be produced by long generations of cultivated ancestors, and that in the few cases where there is not direct evidence it must be taken as proved. She is, moreover, a born ruler, such as does not arise more than once in many centuries. She dreams of making the empire of Kara extend in reality, as it now does in name, over the whole continent; she therefore wishes to cultivate the most friendly relations with ourselves, for we are the only State powerful enough to thwart her dreams of conquest. Her ideal is slavery for the whole of the working classes, and a kind of cultivated socialism for the aristocracy—a class whose indulgences should have no limit.

"By the laws of Kara, when the Emperor dies Fyné must succeed him. She is Sovereign of Norendos, a wild and

pleasant land of mountain, wood, and torrent ; and it is to her credit that while she spreads slavery elsewhere, she respects the freedom of her own mountaineers, and has elaborated a remarkably clever theory to explain her inconsistency. Her own people are devoted to her, and in case of a rebellion would die in the defence of their beloved Princess.

"The most shocking trait in Fyné's character is that for the sake of popularity with the lower order, she encourages the gladiatorial shows, and at times provides that men and women should be torn to pieces by wild beasts in the amphitheatre, for the amusement of the rabble. Of course she is very far too refined and tender-hearted to witness such horrors herself, but the harem-girls of the Emperor are compelled to be present and to see the shows to the end, because they form an attractive part of the pageant, and their beauty and brilliant costumes delight the people."

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## CHAPTER II.

THE voyage was swift and pleasant. The steam-yacht was under the command of an experienced naval officer, whom Sessos had long known. The men were a picked crew from the navy. Sessos did not encumber himself with retinue or servants. To travel as a Prince, he knew, would be to ensure his seeing nothing whatever that was not in the beaten track of the tourist. He had, however, one companion with him—call him a servant, if you will, but if you do so, the word must be understood in that old-fashioned sense, once familiar to our forefathers, but forgotten in this modern time.

The Prince had known Renos for some years. His father was a working jeweller, who had not a thought beyond bringing up the boy in his own business ; the youth, however, displayed quickness of no ordinary kind, and the existence of the clever lad soon became known to the late King, who was ever on the look-out for marked ability of any sort among his subjects ; so the best education the country could furnish was given to Renos. His tastes were in the direction of the physical sciences, and in a wide range of these he had acquired much proficiency. Until the present occasion, he had never left his native land, but much of that wide tract of country was familiar to him, for Sessos, with Renos for a companion, had explored every mountain-range in Naverac, and the two companions had

already added several important facts to the stock of insular geological knowledge.

As soon as the Prince's yacht appeared in the distance, its approach was telegraphed to the Duke, and ere she reached the quay of what Sessos had described as the Duke's only seaport, his Grace was on the spot, prepared to receive his guest.

The Duke had a big, ugly house—palace, his subjects called it—in the town, but he seldom stayed there except when engaged on State affairs. His home was in the ancestral castle, a few miles to the north. It was a large and stately pile, standing at a considerable elevation above the rich level plain which skirted the sea. Its builder, whoever he was, had acted with forethought as regards picturesque effect. He had perched it on a moraine, which had been formed by a glacier when the temperature was far other than it is now. The remains of this, and others, might be seen from the castle walls when the hill-mists were blown away. No glaciers now encumbered the plain, but in quite recent geological time it was affirmed that many had reached the flat, and entered the sea as an unbroken wall of ice.

The stream which the present glacier discharged at its base, had, in days when explosives were unknown, formed an almost impregnable defence to the fortress, for it curled round it on three sides in a deep gully, and across the tongue of land which connected the castle with the outer world, a deep ditch had been cut, over which admission was only gained by a drawbridge.

"I have not brought a carriage for you," the Duke said, as he shook his friend by the hand. "I knew you would like riding the best. There are conveniences for your man and the baggage." And so they cantered gaily forward.

The Duke was a man of some five-and-thirty years of age, refined, highly educated, and an excellent ruler so far as he had it in his power to be. But though in name an independent sovereign within the wide limits of his own territory, as a feudal subject of the Emperor of Kara, he was constantly the victim of injudicious interference in the domestic affairs of his flourishing State.

It was dinner-time when they arrived at the castle. Sessos knew all those he met on the present occasion very well. The two families had long been on terms of intimate friendship. He had known the Duchess in her unmarried days, during his own long stay at Kara; the Duke's sister he had not met there, but

he had often seen her in her own home, and during visits she had paid to the Court of Naverac ; visits which had taken place every year since she was a little girl. She was much younger than her brother, a bright, elegant woman, with little taste for the luxury and splendour of the Imperial Court. She had, indeed, visited Kara but once, and then for a short time only. Though Fyné, and therefore every one else, had tried to make the visit pleasant to her, the girl's simple, innocent heart had been so revolted by much that was going on around her, that by one excuse or another she had thus far succeeded in avoiding the Imperial command to be again in attendance on the Court of her Sovereign. This was very bad policy, if she desired to contract a brilliant marriage, but not unwise if we measure her conduct by a higher standard.

They dined alone on this occasion, maids of honour were not present. There was, however, a single guest who had been specially invited to meet the Prince. He was a man of tall, spare figure, perhaps sixty years of age ; his dark hair slightly tinged with grey, and his bright lustrous eyes indicating intellect, perhaps even genius. Eklis was a man of world-wide reputation. There was hardly a savage tribe he had not visited, nor a country with which he was not familiar. Hardly a learned society of any reputation was in existence that did not count him among its members, and to whose transactions he had not contributed. The books he had written formed in themselves no inconsiderable library. Sessos knew this illustrious person well, for Eklis had on several occasions been his guest, and the two had wandered together in the mountain regions of Naverac, and amused themselves for many days in the quaint streets of the old towns and villages with which the country abounds. His costume was picturesque, but very unlike that affected at the present day. It consisted of a complete suit of black velvet slashed with cream-coloured silk, and on the left breast shone a jewelled star of eight wavy rays. Like others among us who have devoted themselves to the accumulation and spreading of knowledge, or the still more important function of feeding the imagination, he possessed an easy self-confidence when in company of royal people, which, we regret to say, is by no means common. He evidently felt himself at least the equal of any one in the Empire, or in Naverac, with whom he could possibly come in contact.

"The Prince, you see," said the Duke, "is about to emulate



the career of his namesake. Let us hope he may not meet with a like unhappy fate."

"Why not, your Grace?" replied the philosopher. "You do not know what *that* fate was, and even if for once rumour be in a way correct, as the lying hussy so seldom is, to me it seems far worthier to perish in an attempt to widen the boundaries of the world, than to break one's neck in a Naverac hunting-field, or to die of slow decay, the father of twelve stupid children, leaving behind one the character of being a good departmental man in Parliamentary business, whom the Prime Minister could always trust, and who had won the good opinion of the leader of the Opposition. The elder Sessos is remembered now, some two hundred years after his birth, when nearly every one of his contemporaries is forgotten."

"I have no doubt," replied the Duke, "that his career has stimulated our friend's hereditary desire for adventure. I have heard that the object of the earlier Sessos's last voyage was to solve the great question as to what lies between our mountain-barrier and the River La."

"Yes," continued Eklis, with one of his half-sarcastic smiles, "and suppose, for the sake of argument, even that he did, ere he died, solve this biggest of geographical problems, I can't for the life of me see that the worthy man deserved for a hundred and sixty years to be pilloried on sign-posts, and made the subject of school-girls' essays. Why, two or three of the colonies of Naverac have actually put the poor fellow's head on their postage-stamps. From what we have all heard, he was worthy of a happier lot, but the same fate is hanging over your own head, your Royal Highness, if you succeed, or perish in the attempt, and if, on the other hand, you go back with no more knowledge than you went forth, then every wiseacre in your brother's dominions will solemnly aver that he had always said it would be so from the very first. Had you not better give it up, and take to horse-racing, coin-collecting, or breeding short-horns?" There was a half-contemptuous twinkle in the dark, melancholy eyes of the savant as he ceased speaking.

"I am too young to take advice," said the Prince, with a smile; "that is one of the functions of old age, so I shall beg you to give me all the information you can as to how to proceed."

"What a request to make, and to me above all people, when you know from experience that whatever old fogies like me say

must be worthless ; and besides, why should I know more about it than the map-makers, who get their living by the business?"

"Because I am sure you do know far more than they," said Sessos, earnestly, replying only to the latter part of the philosopher's remarks. "Tell me, have you ever been in this land of mystery? Have you ever scaled this mountain-barrier?"

"Two questions at once, my dear Prince. I shall follow your example, and take the last first, as including the other. I never have scaled the barrier, and I don't believe anybody ever will. I have skirted it for its whole length, and from what I have seen, I believe such a feat to be impossible—at all events, in the present state of knowledge. The atmosphere must be so rare on the top, that no human lungs could inhale sufficient oxygen to support life. I once wrote a paper on the subject, which I will show your Royal Highness some time. If all other difficulties could be got over, this is fatal, unless you and your companions could take air-condensers up aloft with you, and the mechanical contrivances for employing them. I need not tell you that these useful scientific instruments have not yet been invented."

"Then there is just a possibility from the north, through the Forest Lands, as they call them, at Kara. One might, perhaps, launch boats on the great inland lake, which is said to exist there. It is only a short distance from the city, but utterly unknown," said Sessos.

"Unknown," replied Eklis, "to every one except to those amiable children of nature whom the Emperor and his charming cousin, Fyné, employ in slave-hunting. I am almost sure the Emperor would never consent to give you a pass, and if he did, unless you took with you half the standing army of Naverac as a body-guard, you would certainly be murdered—put to death, that is—by the natives. They would take you for an agent of the men-stealers, and act according to their crude ideas of natural justice. The poor things have been for ages in close contact with the higher civilization, and do not like it. I have been there under exceptionally favourable conditions, such conditions as can never occur to you. I know of what I speak. Let me entreat you not to court death." As the strange man spoke, he touched the star on his breast ; it might be by an accidental movement, but Sessos thought, from the expression of his friend's face, that the action had relation to some train of thought passing through his mind.

Geographical inquiry had evidently gone far enough for the present, so Sessos changed the subject by observing, "You have got another new order; what Sovereign makes knights of the star?"

"It is not an order," Eklis replied, with a smile, "only a present from a lady, a dear friend, but it was useful to me in the Forest Land. Somehow, it is hard to explain the reason, these poor hunted barbarians love her, and respect her symbol."

"She must be passing rich to make such a costly present," said the Prince.

"I do not know," the savant replied; "I never saw her banker's pass-book, if she has one. She is a Queen in her own land."

"A Queen, then a feudatory of the Emperor. It is very strange that she has never been mentioned to me," said Sessos, not a little surprised, for Fyné had expounded to him, on more than one occasion, the number and services of those who owed allegiance to the throne of Kara.

"Strange things are always happening," said Eklis. "The most wonderful thing is when one passes a day without something occurring out of the ordinary course of experience. Even court-guides and almanacks are not infallible. The Queen I speak of would be rather indignant if any one told her that she owed allegiance to his Majesty of Kara." There was that provoking smile on his countenance as he spoke, which tinged so much of his conversation.

"And yet she must be well known to have come in contact with these wild people," said Sessos. "How is it that the Emperor has not compelled this Queen to accept him as overlord?"

Silence for the present seemed the wiser course. Eklis thought so, for he made no reply, but took a case from his pocket and extracting a couple of cigars from it said, "However ignorant my royal friend may be of feudal tenures, she is not a bad judge of these things. They were also a present from her. Try one."

They arose to join the ladies, the Duke arousing himself from a gentle slumber into which the foregoing conversation had lulled him.

In the pleasant land wherein we are now residing it is not improper to smoke in the presence of ladies. They found the Duchess and her sister-in-law sitting by an open window,

watching the doves as they bathed themselves in the fountain. They were smoking cigarettes and talking happily.

"Look at that beautiful creature which sits pluming herself after her bath on the arm of that sea-nymph. She joined our flock only a day or two ago. I am so anxious to find out where she has come from. The wild men who live near the cavern have told our people that they saw a bird like this come out of that dark recess, two or three days ago. They tried to kill it, as a thing of ill-omen, but it happily escaped them," said the Duchess.

Eklis did not speak. Sessos had never before seen a bird of its peculiar kind of beauty. The body was jet black, the head and wings bright scarlet.

"You know everything, do tell us from whence it has come," said the Duke's sister, addressing Eklis.

That philosopher remained silent for some time; at length after having taken a long pull at his cigar, he said, "The dove was the death-bird of our earliest recorded ancestors. Probably the arrival of this one presages extinction to the Prince, either among the ice of the mountains or by the knives of the forest-folk. Black evidently indicates mourning, and scarlet is the sign of blood. It is much safer to believe in folk-lore than in what people like me call science—so much less strain upon the intellect," and then, almost without a pause, he continued in a more serious tone: "I have heard that the Duke has put an end to slavery on his domains. Is it so?"

"Yes, oh yes," said the sister, "but not formally. The people were all willing, but it was very dangerous, for the Court of Kara would be incensed if it were known; so the Duke keeps all sorts of severe laws on the statute-book."

"I apprehend the situation," said Eklis, with a smile of amusement.

"The Duke is wrong—very wrong, as he knows," continued the enthusiastic sister. "If he understood the higher politics he would know that whatever happened he ought to have nothing to do with such shameful cruelty."

"But, my dear lady, do you not know that political economists have proved over and over again, that slavery is the happiest condition for the working classes. I could tell you quite a number of anecdotes which, as I am assured, prove this," said Eklis.

"I wonder if there is anything you could not tell me a

number of tales in proof of," said the lady, laughing, and then lapsing into a more serious tone, she added, "We all know Kara, and the horrors which go on there. We know too that you are a Christian, and cannot possibly sympathize with these revolting crimes. What an evil example you set to those who worship the old gods when you talk as if you sympathized with these cruelties."

"By-the-bye, how is it you are such a favourite there," interposed the Duke, "in a city where your faith is not tolerated?"

"Not in the city," he replied, "but it is permitted and even patronized in some of the subject provinces; and then you see I am very useful to dear Fyné. She is so wide-minded that she patronizes culture even in a Christian."

"Strange, beautiful, cruel creature, I cannot help loving her, though I know I ought not," exclaimed the Duchess, who knew her intimately.

"Pray do not blame yourself," the philosopher replied. "I am sure I love her dearly, she is so gentle and kind. Only a month or two ago I was in attendance at the Court in the harem gardens. A complaint was made to her that two of the Christian slave-women had refused to throw incense on the altar of Justice, so she ordered them to be scourged—she might have put them to death, you know—well, just at the time, one of the attendants trod on the foot of her little spaniel, and gave the pretty creature severe pain. Tears stood in dear Fyné's eyes, she pressed it to her bosom, and kissed it till it left off whining. I could not help admiring her divine sympathy." This was said with the utmost gravity, no shade of irony was indicated by voice or manner.

"It is all very strange," continued the Duchess. "I have heard Fyné say over and over again, that she has no belief in the national gods."

"No, of course not; but then rain was wanted, the farmers said they should be ruined, the market-gardeners were at their wits' end, and even the palace laundry-maids had not water in which to wash the linen, so the idol priests were called in. It would never do to offend the people, the great mass of whom are idolaters, so the poor girls had to suffer; they were terribly beaten, but I hope the poor little dog's foot is better," said Eklis.

"I am angry—very angry—when I hear you talk in this way. I should hate you if I thought you meant it," said the

Duke's sister, her face flushing with indignation. "Do you ever say what you really mean?"

"Sometimes, and I am going to do so now. I and some others, better people than I am, went in disguise in the dusk of the evening to endeavour to relieve the poor young creatures' sufferings. As I walked home late at night through the deserted streets to my rooms in the palace, I saw for a moment the sky ablaze with lightning, and there was one long, low peal of thunder far away to the west. The horror of what I had seen kept me awake, and I was aware of flash after flash, and the thunder came nearer and nearer; at last the storm burst with a violence such as I have never seen even in the tropics, when the icy wind of the mountains comes in contact with moisture-saturated air of the alluvial flats. The streets of Kara became like rivers, bridges were swept away, whole villages with their inhabitants destroyed, and thousands of oxen and sheep carried down by the torrents to the sea. No such fearful visitation had been known for a century, and what to me was the most noteworthy fact of all, the image of Justice in front of her temple was shattered by the lightning into a thousand fragments. The superstitious wretches believed that these two innocent girls were the cause of the catastrophe, and surrounded the palace in vast throngs clamouring for their death. Fyné desired to spare them, but she dare not. Powerful as she is, she knows that she cannot resist the mob when its passions are excited, and so they died, and I and one or two more gathered up their poor mangled remains and gave them Christian burial. Their souls are with God, and, I trust, praying for sinners like myself," said Eklis, with a tone of grave sadness in his manner that could not be mistaken. The ladies were in tears, and it required a very strong effort on the part of Sessos to enable him to maintain the control of his emotions.

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### CHAPTER III.

THE next day was devoted to an exploring expedition. The ladies were accomplished horsewomen, and very desirous to hear the words of wisdom concerning rocks and flowers which they were sure would fall from the lips of Eklis and the Prince. The Duchess was glad to renew her long-standing acquaintance with the young man, and Alé, the Duke's sister, was by no means indifferent to his bright society. Servants, including

Renos, were sent forward with a tent and luncheon to a point known as the Cave, the place where the black and scarlet dove was said to have made its first appearance.

They reached the high tableland above the castle, from which the best view of the great glacier was to be had, and a widely extended outlook over the sea. On turning to the left they soon found themselves in a wild region—a ravine where a lava stream had flowed when the mountain which towered above them was an active volcano. The lava had not been ejected from the central crater, as the older books on such subjects were wont to try to make their readers believe that it always was, but from a craterlet in the side, not far above them. There was not any other spot in the Duke's domains—very few indeed elsewhere in the world—so well adapted for the study of geological phenomena, as the rugged place to which he had conducted them, for within a very easy distance were to be seen the effects of eruptive agencies and glacial action in their grander forms. Though so near the abodes of men, the weird loneliness of the place was strangely impressive. Not a human being, not even a solitary shepherd was to be seen. They might have imagined themselves to be travellers on a planet not yet inhabited by man or even by any of the higher orders of animal life, had it not been that to the eyes of a careful observer it was evident that the scanty herbage which grew between the lava-blocks, had, at no distant time, been nibbled by sheep or goats; now, however, they were gone further up the mountain slope.

"The very place for some wild witch legend," said Sessos to Alé. "Had we such a place in Naverac, our folk-loreists would have collected or invented a volume of tales about it."

"The wild men alone stray here," said the Duke, "except for two or three weeks in the early summer, when my shepherds come here. Those poor nomads have, no doubt, a tale about every stone, but it is impossible to make them speak on such things; they even baffle Eklis himself."

"Who are these wild men?" inquired the Prince, who was in entire ignorance of the existence of such a race until they were casually mentioned last night by the Duchess.

"Ah! that no one can tell," said the Duke. "They inhabit the middle region of these mountains, just below the snow-line; wandering about from place to place, without settled habitation. Their camps may be come upon throughout the whole length of my dominions, and far upwards, how far I do not know, in



the Imperial territories. They owe no allegiance to any one except their own chiefs or headmen, and live on the wild things they catch—foxes, wolves, and toads and lizards even, my people say. They never steal my game or the sheep and goats, so in consideration of this, my shepherds have orders to give them wool when they ask for it. They seek for gold in the streams and find enough to supply their very few and simple wants. With the rudest tools they manufacture very pretty trinkets—my sister has a collection of them—archæologists say they are just like those which are found in pre-historic grave-mounds. Their language is unknown to any one except themselves, even Eklis has not acquired it. They seem to have no religion, yet profess to deal with spirits, practise incantations, make it rain, and foretell the future.”

“Yes,” continued Eklis, “and they furnish a curious example of how the extremes of unbelief and superstition unite with one another. Even I, who believe nearly everything anybody tells me, could not have credited, without proof, that our most enlightened Emperor, notwithstanding all his scientific culture and professed atheism, is in the habit of consulting these people and listening to them foretelling the future. Fyné is not unnaturally indignant when such folly is mentioned in her presence.”

“Simpleton!” exclaimed the ladies.

“Not unnatural, however,” said Sessos. “We are not all like the cold, unimpassioned Fyné. The poor man must have something outside himself to lean upon.”

“Degraded races all over the world are credited with preternatural power. If, as is probable, these wild men are the remains of that older race which was here before the ancestors of the Duke’s subjects settled in the plains, it was not unnatural that the new-comers should attribute marvellous powers to those who persevered in living in spite of them; who could catch wild animals by all sorts of subtle means, find gold and make it into the beautiful ornaments their conquerors so highly valued; foretell the weather in a way that must have seemed astonishing to the new-comers, and do a hundred other simple things which in their minds transcended the bounds of nature. The action of a boomerang is miraculous to many a Naverac sailor, to whom the telegraph and the steamship are common-place objects,” said Sessos.

“The Prince is right,” said Eklis; “what have you to say as to restitution, your Grace? I wish I knew their language, then

I could call mass meetings, make speeches and denounce an intruding aristocracy. I have often talked to them, but have only picked up an odd word or two of their language; but see, here is one of them provided as an object-lesson for our instruction."

As he spoke they beheld, stretched at full length on a slab of lava, a gaunt human form. The man's arms and legs were bare, his body was clad in a tightly fitting dress of coarse woollen cloth, evidently of home manufacture. By his side lay a rifle with a long rusty barrel, and in his hand was a short spear. On their approach this strange being arose, and Sessos noticed that his complexion was of a dark hue, though whether so tinted by nature or acquired by exposure to the sun's rays he could not determine.

Neither by sign nor gesture did this wild creature take any notice of the Duke, but he gazed intently on the ladies. Perhaps their brightly-tinted dresses attracted his attention. When the last of the party had ridden past him, he uttered a loud noise between a whistle and a scream, in reply to which three other men of the same race started up. They had been concealed in clefts of the rocks. Now they stationed themselves at a point which the party must pass.

"Don't be alarmed," the Duke said to the ladies, who showed some signs of fear. "They have no intention of hurting us. The poor things are very gentle, except when injured or frightened."

The Duke reined in his horse, and one of the men, who from a bit of faded scarlet ribbon twisted round his neck, we may assume to have been a headman among them, said:

"You are going to the cave. I saw the food and drink going there. Don't go far in. It's fuller of spirits than ever it has been in my time. I heard their bells ringing all yesterday—they are having a wedding, I'm thinking. And don't let your women and that young man from over-sea go in. They are used to us and you, but never saw him, and might do him an injury. Our old women say there have never been so many spirits about since the great earthquake-time, when the hills smoked and the sea came on the land. They did it all. Mind what I say. You are a good Duke, and never grudge us what you can't eat yourself."

After this not very courteous harangue, the man laid down on a flat slab on which the rays of the mid-day sun were beating, evidently enjoying the intense heat.

The Duke drew from his pocket one of the large silver coins of the country with his own head thereon, and held it for the man.

"That's you, not your father," said the savage, examining the portrait with keen scrutiny, that would have done credit to a numismatist.

"Give me a yellow one, a little one will do; then my wife shall wear it round her neck and say good words for you. She's a witch."

The Duke handed the man the desired coin, who took it eagerly, examining it carefully to be sure that it had the donor's head upon it. "Here, take this white one back," he said; "it isn't money we want of you, but the hills, the air, the water, and the sunshine and the wool."

The party cantered on until they were far out of hearing, they then proceeded at foot's pace. The ladies were amused by the interview. They had often before seen wild men and women, but it was a very rare event for any of them to enter into conversation.

"The manners of my subjects are not those of Courts," the Duke said, "but they are harmless creatures."

"Harmless at present, your Grace, and I trust you will always shelter them, but it is not a little terrible to know that on the word of that man's wife, or some other such creature, the policy of Kara, in any great emergency, may depend. If Fyné were to die, which we trust is most unlikely, his Imperial Majesty would become a prey of the soothsayers, and the more ignorant they were, the greater would be his confidence in them," said Eklis.

"What did the man mean when he spoke of hearing spirit-bells ring?" inquired Sessos, who was much interested in this survival of barbarism.

"I have no idea. Fancy or lying, I imagine," said the Duke.

"In what direction was the wind yesterday?" inquired Eklis.

"East—due east," answered the ladies, "as it is to-day."

"Men of science have told me," said Eklis, "that the musical sounds, which it is averred are sometimes heard in mountain passes are caused by the heat of the sun's rays expanding irregularly the molecules of which the igneous and metamorphic rocks are composed. The cave itself is, of course, limestone, but the east winds sweeping down from the granite peaks above,

these experts would say, might bring musical sounds with them."

"A lie is the simpler though less scientific explanation," said the Duke.

"And therefore the more improbable one. Men in their primitive condition do not lie except to mislead an enemy or serve a tribesman. It requires centuries of civilization to establish a habit of saying what is not," said Eklis.

The party had now reached a grassy plateau, at a height considerably above the castle. The view was magnificent. The sea, though by no means near, seemed to wash the foot of the elevation on which they stood, and far to north and south stretched a smiling country in all the loveliness of its early summer garniture. The high cliff which formed the eastern barrier of the plateau extended on each side for a considerable distance. It was, as far as the eye could reach, clad with verdure. Fir-trees had taken root in its crannies, and many of these had grown to a large size. They and the bushes with which they mingled were embraced by climbing plants, many of which were in the full glory of their floral beauty. At one point a little stream of water fell over the rock. The cascade was but a tiny one now, but in times of heavy rainfall the volume of water was very considerable.

To the north was a square plot of ground, which seemed to have been levelled by the hand of man. Here some of the tents of the wild men were pitched. Their covering was made of a coarse woollen material. It was supported in an oval form by curved rods of a kind of willow. The whole of the population of this primitive community had turned out to witness the servants of the Duke pitch the luncheon-tent. There were four or five men with as many women, and somewhere about a dozen children. These last were lively, happy animals, much better-looking than their parents. They wore but the slightest apology for clothing.

When luncheon was over, the cave had to be visited, but ere this could be accomplished, the ladies had to undergo the ordeal of a strict scrutiny by the children. While they were in the tent, the attention of the rising generation had been occupied by the horses, their saddles and bridles. Had not the animals been of peculiarly docile temperament some accident must have happened, for they handled them all over without a particle of fear, and now and then extemporized a

new game by running in and out between their legs. When Sessos passed out of the tent, he found Renos showing off his by no means fluent knowledge of the language of the country, by a series of objurgations addressed to the more forward of these urchins, not one word of which they understood, indeed they seemed to regard his loud tones and very pronounced gestures as part of the game got up for their especial delight.

We shall not describe the cavern. At present it is sufficient to say, that after entering by a very small opening the party found themselves in a large natural hall, dimly lighted by irregular openings in what, for want of a better term, we may call the front wall. Renos had some time on his hands ere his master arrived, which he had devoted to a preliminary examination. Seeing Sessos standing apart from the rest, he directed his attention to the openings in the wall, several of which he had carefully examined.

"Your Highness must have these measured, and photographed too, if we can. They are none of nature's work, there are hammer-marks on them," he said.

"I think you are right," answered Sessos, "but we cannot explore now. We will come the first day I have to spare and make a detailed investigation. See there are six distinct passages leading in different directions, and the Duke says that from every one of these other passages branch off like the threads of a spider's web."

They were alone in the cave, and were about to leave it when a fact occurred to Sessos which struck him as curious. The little runnel of water formed by the cascade entered the cavern and, flowing by the side of the wall, made its way down one of the passages. "We have visited together nearly every cavern in Naverac," he said, "and there the streams run outwards. I do not call to mind an instance where this order is inverted." As he ceased speaking, a low sound struck on his ears, he looked at Renos and held up his finger in token of silence; after a short interval, it occurred again and again. "I could have sworn," said Sessos, "that what we heard was some distant clock striking three."

The young men looked at their watches and found that to be the exact time.

"This certainly calls for further inquiry. Don't speak of it to any one until we have matured some plan of action," the Prince said as he left his companion.

## Reviews.

### I.—CHRISTIANITY OR AGNOSTICISM?

*Christianity or Agnosticism* is the translation into English of a French work written by the Abbé Picard, of the Cathedral Church of Lyons, which was published some six years ago. In a Preface the author tells us that the class of readers he had in view were young men. He describes it as not uncommon in France for young men brought up in Catholic houses to suffer injury in their faith when their adult life commences. They are brought in contact with companions who challenge all they have been trained to reverence, and call their attention to arguments undoubtedly impressive. The effect on the young Catholic is first to perplex and sadden him, and perhaps afterwards to make him drift away from the teachings of his childhood. Our young men (and young girls too, as the Translator's Preface points out) have a similar experience in this country, though perhaps not to this extent. Such a danger points to the need of suitable books of instruction, not too profound so as to discourage young minds, and yet not too superficial to give them satisfaction. It was in the hope of contributing to the supply of this need that the author wrote.

The title given strikes the note to be kept in mind throughout. Can the Christian religion produce a really solid foundation of proof able to carry to a reflecting mind the conviction of its truth? If the question cannot honestly be answered save with a "No," there is nothing left save the sad creed of the Agnostic. But fortunately the Church has a very good vindication of her position to set before us, and that this is the case now is becoming more generally recognized, or at least suspected, than it was a few years back. The tide of materialism was then in flood and had well-nigh covered the landmarks of the Christian position. But the tide has now receded somewhat, and men are

<sup>1</sup> *Christianity or Agnosticism?* By the Abbé Louis Picard. Authorized Translation revised by the Rev. J. G. Macleod, S.J. London: Sands and Co., 1899.

beginning to discern that the old landmarks are still where they were, and uninjured. It was, for instance, very confidently said then that evolution pervaded the entire visible world, and that the hypothesis of a Creator was no longer needed. The hypothesis of Topsy had proved correct—Nobody made us: we had only grown. Now, as even men of science are beginning to acknowledge, there are three points at least in the scale of beings where experimental research itself seems to trace the hand of a Creator.

If we accept the mechanical theory which resolves all we see into matter and motion, the question emerges at once, how did the matter and motion originate? And if it be true that our sole fund of cosmic energy is ever tending towards a goal in which all the motion will be molecular, then the need of an original impulse from without asserts itself all the more imperatively. If the world's course is not cyclic, how avoid the inference that it must have had a beginning. Again, all attempts to refer the origin of life on our planet to spontaneous generation have failed, and the most that is now maintained even by the rankest materialist is that, under other conditions, which may have prevailed ages ago, this process may have been possible and have taken place. In other words, the phenomena of life, so sharply divided off from inanimate existence, call for a creative hand to explain them. And still more is this need felt to explain the phenomena of intelligence. Desperate efforts have been made to resolve human intelligence into purely material constituents, and to break down the wall of division between it and the so-called intelligence of animals, but the failure of these efforts becomes increasingly manifest. The way is open for a general return to the Christian doctrine of spiritual as well as material existence.

We call attention to these three points because they are calculated to encourage the young Christian student, and because M. Picard pays careful attention to them, citing for each stage in the argument the words of unexceptionable scientific witnesses. There are other points also to which we might invite attention, as points in regard to which we have learnt something from the studies of the last few decades, with the result that the difficulty of harmonizing faith and science is not what it was. We have learned something too on the side of theology as well as of science. Far be it from us to encourage theories of inspiration inconsistent with the *Immortale Dei*.



But there is wisdom in St. Jerome's words: "As though many things were not said in Holy Scripture, according to the notions of the times to which they refer, and not according to what the truth of the matter (the ontological truth, as we should say) required." And into this wisdom we are learning to penetrate more fully than before. We may still not see clearly how to harmonize the first chapter of Genesis, for instance, with what seem to be the achieved results of science. But without running off into impossible schemes of exegesis, we can still feel that this record of creation, which carries its own vindication in its simple but sublime generalizations, may require to be interpreted from a standpoint which as yet in our ignorance of the literary modes of that hoar antiquity we cannot approach.

The Abbé Picard, as his subject requires, divides his book into two parts, the first, entitled *Spiritualism* (which is here the correlative to *Materialism*), establishes the existence of God and of the Soul; the second, entitled *Christianity*, the need of a Christian Revelation. Here he begins with such credentials as the Church can point to apart from the testimony of Scripture. Then comes a chapter on the authenticity of the New Testament, and one on the rationalistic theories of New Testament interpretation, followed by chapters on the Resurrection, the Church, False Religions, Christian Dogma. M. Picard is too diffuse at times, and is not always equal. But his reasoning is solid throughout, and is made as little abstruse as possible, though of course, it requires to be followed attentively. The quotations are usually effective and valuable, for it is these which count with readers such as he addresses. Sometimes he rises into really fine passages. The translation reads as it should, smoothly, so that the feeling of a translation may not obtrude itself. The publisher's work should be commended, for not only is the book nicely got up, but it could not have been easy to get 620 pages into so comparatively thin a volume without there being any appearance of crowding. We trust that this undertaking may justify the hopes with which it is set before English readers, and be a help to those who seek solid instruction in the credentials of our holy religion. Certainly those who will master its contents will find themselves enabled to estimate at its true measure the cheap Agnosticism of the drawing-room and the club.

2.—CLERICAL STUDIES.<sup>1</sup>

*Clerical Studies* appeared originally as a series of articles in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. The nature of the subject justified their republication in a more permanent form, for it will not be questioned that the importance is supreme of encouraging the new generations of our clergy, both in America and England, and indeed everywhere, to cultivate studious habits and provide themselves with a good intellectual equipment. It is not an easy task for them. The select few may have leisure and opportunities in addition to natural tastes, but the great mass, as soon as they leave the Seminaries, become engrossed in ministerial duties which not only occupy the chief portion of their time, but indispose the mind for severe thought during the remainder. Still, it is a task which must be faced, not indeed to the extent that each priest should hold himself bound to really profound studies of the questions bearing upon faith and practice—for that would be simply impossible—but at least to this extent, that he should endeavour to keep himself abreast of what is written on these matters, and be able to profit by the studies of others. Dr. Hogan has provided an excellent guide for the use of such ecclesiastics, and indeed for others too, for there is no reason why the educated Catholic laity should deem themselves excluded from these branches of religious study.

*Clerical Studies* is a kind of introduction to this class of studies. It takes in order the several subjects—Natural Sciences, Philosophy, Apologetics, Dogmatic Theology, Moral Theology, Ascetic Theology, Canon Law, &c.—and explains the points requiring attention in each. The author is judicious in his opinions and recommendations, steering his course carefully between the extremes of a narrow-minded refusal to pay heed to the achievements of modern science and scholarship, and of a reckless love of novelties, now-a-days not uncommon, which in its desire to be thought large-minded, is prepared to abandon doctrines and principles to which the Church is irrevocably committed.

One criticism. In the chapter on Philosophy the author does not seem to have thought out sufficiently the question of Scholasticism. He describes it as a system which reached its zenith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and does full credit

<sup>1</sup> *Clerical Studies*. By the Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, D.D. Boston : Callanan, 1898.

to the splendour of its achievements at that time in analyzing and systematizing the doctrines of the faith. He recognizes, too, very cordially, and estimates very justly, the revival of this philosophy in the second half of the nineteenth century. But his account of its fortunes during the long intermediate period is that, soon after the days of its zenith, it ran off into useless subtleties, and by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had become generally discredited. On the other hand, he credits Cartesianism with having acquired a much stronger hold on the Catholic schools than it ever really had. Scholasticism lived and flourished continuously through the centuries of its supposed decadence, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it gloried in quite a galaxy of distinguished writers. Dr. Hogan passes over in silence Vasquez, Suarez, and Lugo, the Salmanticenses, Gonet, and the other similar intellectual giants of post-Reformation Scholasticism. As for Cartesianism, the parent of modern scepticism, its inherent fallacies were soon detected by the great Scholastic thinkers, and we do not see how it can be said to have had any hold at all on the Catholic schools, except perhaps in the earlier half of this century, when the fury of the Revolution had involved Scholasticism in the general ruin of Catholic institutions. It is, indeed, true to say that Cartesianism drew attention for the first time to the need of a more systematic investigation of the problems of Certitude, of the second part of Logic, as it is commonly called. But even here it failed, and left Scholasticism to find the true solutions. What characterizes the modern revival, or further evolution of Scholasticism, is the energy with which its adherents are now addressing themselves to the task of perfecting its teaching by incorporating the results of modern experimental science.

As we have taken exception to one of the author's contentions, let us finish by thanking him for the able way in which he sets forth another. He protests firmly against the tendency to hold that in matters not directly religious there might be errors discernible in the Bible. This he shows is not only inconsistent with the *Æterni Patris*, but is the abandonment of a position always held in the past. On the other hand, following the guidance of Leo XIII., he insists that the language of the Bible is "popular, not technical," and that in interpreting it we must allow for "the literary peculiarities of Oriental people." "The fundamental position," he well says, is this: "that inspiration does not change the established literary habits of a people, or of

a writer; that consequently what is considered no departure from truth in an ordinary book, should not be viewed otherwise because the book is inspired."

### 3.—BIBLIOTHECA HAGIOGRAPHICA LATINA.<sup>1</sup>

Although the great collection of the Lives of the Saints, or *Acta Sanctorum*—never completed but still being carried on by Belgian Jesuits according to the plan of Father Bollandus—is tolerably familiar to English historical students, it is to be regretted that the subsidiary apparatus which they have organized of late years to help on the greater undertaking meets with but languid appreciation and support in this country. In the two centuries and a half during which the "Bollandists" have laboured almost uninterruptedly at the task of editing the original materials of hagiographical science, experience has taught them many lessons. One is the danger of the loss or of the dispersion of the texts which they have laboriously copied or acquired. Another is the difficulty in such a vast multitude of scattered and often closely analogous narrations of distinguishing between old materials and new, in other words, between texts that in some part of the world or at some former time have already been printed and those which have not yet seen the light. To meet the former difficulty the Bollandists some years ago founded a periodical publication called the *Analecta Bollandiana*,<sup>2</sup> intended primarily to afford a safe refuge for hagiographical *inédits* which had little chance at the present rate of progress of being incorporated in the great *Acta* for centuries to come. In these *Analecta* they have lately introduced a new feature, in the shape of a most valuable chronicle, written in French, of all publications bearing on the Lives of the Saints. The criticism in these brief reviews is of an impartial and searching character, and this section of the *Analecta* thus provides for Catholics a very much needed court of assay to separate history from legend.

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, antiquæ et mediæ ætatis, ediderunt socii Bollandiani. Fasc. I., A—Cecilia, pp. 1—224. Bruxellis: 14 Rue des Ursulines, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> It may be remarked that the *Analecta* does not exclude contributions from extern authors. Thus the last issue for 1898 contains a most important paper from the Abbé Duchesne in reply to Bruno Krusch, entitled, *A propos du Martyrologe Hiéronymien*.

Leaving out of account the valuable catalogues of hagiographical MSS. in the libraries of Paris, Brussels, and elsewhere, the next most important of the recent undertakings of the Bollandists is a complete bibliography of all the Greek and Latin Lives of Saints which can be discovered to have at any time been printed in those languages. The *Bibliotheca Græca* is a comparatively slender volume, which saw the light three years ago. Small as it is, its utility and completeness have already been generously attested by scholars interested in hagiographical researches. The *Bibliotheca Latina*, of which the first fascicule is now before us, appeals to a wider public, and is a work which has entailed much more arduous labour upon the compilers. Hitherto the only considerable attempt of a bibliography of the sort has been contained in Potthast's *Bibliotheca Medii Ævi*, and Ulysse Chevalier's *Répertoire de Sources Historiques*. The Bollandist work, though more restricted in scope, is, in point of fulness and accuracy, enormously in advance of either of the publications named. We have spent some little time in trying to discover that, in the case of those of the English Saints at least, who lie more out of the beaten track, the Bollandist Editors have overlooked materials they ought to have included, or have cited them incorrectly. We are glad to be able to say that so far we have been quite unsuccessful. The work, owing no doubt to its thoroughness, has considerably outgrown the limits at first announced. It is now estimated to form two volumes of more than six hundred pages each, and is offered to subscribers at a cost of forty francs. We most heartily wish financial success to a work so scholarly and so deserving of support.

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#### 4.—THE PONTIFICAL VESTMENTS OF THE WESTERN CHURCH.<sup>1</sup>

Readers who may have perused the series of articles on the "Vestments of Low Mass" which appeared in this journal a few months back, will be thoroughly familiar with the name of Father Joseph Braun, upon whose researches those four articles were based. Although the volume then under review embraced only what the author has called "the Priestly Vestments," he has throughout had in contemplation a much more com-

<sup>1</sup> *Die Pontificalen Gewänder des Abendlandes*, von Joseph Braun, S.J. With twenty-seven illustrations in the text and one plate. viii. and 192 pp. Freiburg: Herder, 1898. Price 2½ marks.

prehensive treatment of liturgical attire. This plan finds further realization in the issue of the volume now before us, dealing with "the Pontifical Vestments." We hope that it may be possible at some future date to devote an article to the subject; for the present, it must suffice to say that Father Braun extends the same system of first-hand and exhaustive research which characterized his previous venture, to the various items of exclusively pontifical costume, the mitre, the gloves, the sandals, the pallium, and the Papal fanon and subcinctorium. The author had originally intended to include in this one treatise all the remaining vestments and insignia used in the worship of the Western Church. But he has been forced by the somewhat narrow limits prescribed for the *Ergänzungshefte* of the *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, of which series this like the previous work forms part, to restrict the scope of his researches to the vestments worn by Bishops and by Bishops only. Let us express a very sincere hope that he will find an opportunity in some future contribution to the series to deal with the dalmatic, tunic, cope, surplice, the pastoral staff, &c., without some account of which the work he has undertaken will always seem incomplete. For the present, we have no space to say more than that the very high qualities, *e.g.*, the logical arrangement, thoroughness and moderation, displayed in the treatise on the Priestly Vestments are equally conspicuous in the volume now before us.

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5.—THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN.<sup>1</sup>

Father Rickaby's *Gospel according to St. John* is a fresh contribution to the *Scripture Manuals for Catholic Schools*. St. John's Gospel is not so useful for those preparing themselves for the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, though it is sometimes set as an alternative subject even for these candidates. But it will be useful for other examinations, and acceptable too we trust for private readers. The note of divine origin makes itself felt in the Gospels, as was to be anticipated, more than in any other books of the Bible, but even among the Gospels St. John's has a pre-eminence in this respect. We are thus drawn to it in a special manner, and when we first take it up it seems so easy to understand. Further experience shows that its sentences,

<sup>1</sup> *Scripture Manuals for Catholic Schools*. Edited by the Rev. Sydney Smith, S.J. *St. John*. By the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Burns and Oates. Benziger.

easy as they are in their construction, are really most difficult to understand, and the need of a commentary is felt. Father Rickaby has sought to supply this need in the simplest way. He does not distract his readers with a multitude of notes, but gives only such as are really necessary for one desirous of following the text. Those who know his Commentary on the Epistles will be prepared to take him as a safe guide. As regards matter, he gathers that the Public Ministry lasted two not three years. Much depends on the way in which we understand chap. v. 1. As regards the Pasch of the Crucifixion, we are glad to see that he sides with those who hold that the Jewish feast began on the Friday evening, not the Thursday evening, and that there was no eating of a Paschal Lamb at the Last Supper. The more we study this point, the more we are convinced that Father Rickaby's theory is correct. On chap. ii. 4, he suggests what has always seemed to us the truest rendering of the much discussed words *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*—"Leave me alone, lady." (Cf. Exod. xxx. 11, 10.) "The idiom," says Father Rickaby, happily and pithily, "is one used to deprecate interference, kindly or harshly, according to the tone in which it is uttered."

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#### 6.—ELEANOR LESLIE.<sup>1</sup>

There are those who hold that the best apologetic treatises in our days, are not manuals of Christian antiquities, but appeals to experience of the power still inherent in Catholic truth to meet the spiritual needs of the soul and awaken its highest capabilities. Such an experience is recorded in this memoir.

Born on December 3, 1800, and attaining to the advanced age of ninety-two, Eleanor Leslie lived through an interesting and eventful period of Scottish Catholic history, a period which may be truly called the Scottish Catholic revival. She not only lived through it, but also took a leading part in it, and in some sense might almost be called the centre of it. "She was the Mother of us all," exclaimed the late Duchess of Buccleuch, addressing the Children of Mary at Roehampton, on the occasion of Lady Lothian's death. Many owed their conversion directly to her zeal, and others were indebted to her for counsels and support amidst the difficulties incident to a convert's life. In the great temporal misfortune

<sup>1</sup> *Eleanor Leslie. A Memoir.* By J. M. Stone. London: Art and Book Company.



of her husband's life, she had managed all so well, that a trustee declared her to be the "best business man I know;" and she seems to have applied the same talent to the aid of her friends in their spiritual difficulties.

It is not only for its record of a faithful life, with all its sanctifying influences on others, that this volume will be valued. Take it up where you will, you will find in it a fund of interesting and amusing anecdotes. Thus we have several stories of ministers, as of one who asked a child who was playing with a doll, whether she did not know God's commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image." This gentleman may at least be commended for carrying out consistently that reading of the commandment which makes it condemn Catholic doctrine. When Mrs. Leslie became a Catholic, Mr. Aitken, an Episcopalian clergyman whose ministry she had previously used, sent her his ultimatum as follows: "You will be damned, I believe, eternally. Yours affectionately, ROBERT AITKEN." When Colonel Gerard, under similar circumstances, wrote to tell Dean Hook that he felt he must inquire into the question of the Catholic Church, and asked what books he should read, Dr. Hook replied that "he did not know what to recommend, but would suggest the reading at least of Tom Paine and Voltaire, that he might have the opportunity of becoming an infidel." The Doctor, we presume, spoke satirically. When Mrs. Leslie's two daughters had made up their minds to become Catholics, they had to be talked to first by two clergymen. "We will listen," they said to him, "to anything you say to us, if you promise that the other clergymen of your Church will say the same thing." That was a poser, certainly, from two pussies in the earlier part of their 'teens, and may be recommended to others similarly situated. The following incident is amusing too in its way, but it is for its testimony to the power of the Catholic faith that we quote it. At one time a Parliamentary Commission had been investigating the state of religious instruction in Wales, and had discovered an appalling ignorance of primary truths among the people. The report of this Commission was published in the *Guardian*, and Mrs. Gerard, the wife of Colonel Gerard, just mentioned, happening to be staying in Ireland at the time, took the *Guardian* in her hands and put the same questions to some poor children there, who were living far away from a chapel. Their answers were admirable.

From these specimens the reader may see that he has an inviting book offered him, and its attractions are increased by some excellent half-tone illustrations, mostly from Mrs. Leslie's sketch-book. The index is good, and the publishers have done their work well. So too has the authoress, but why is she so chary about her dates? We are told, for instance, on p. 95, that Mrs. Leslie was received on December 3rd, but if any one asks in what year, he will have to turn the pages over considerably before he can find an answer.

#### 7.—FATHER FURNISS AND HIS WORK FOR CHILDREN.<sup>1</sup>

Father Furniss possessed a gift as rare as it is valuable; more often found in priests than in ordinary men, but rather exceptional even among those who have a vocation to the priesthood. He had a wonderful power of attracting and interesting children. Boys and girls alike listened spellbound when he began to talk, and he had moreover a fund of stories, serious as well as humorous, that seemed inexhaustible. This gift enabled him to do a work among the children of England and Ireland that will cause his name to be remembered and revered by all those who appreciate the importance of preserving and rescuing the young from sin and vice, as well as by tens of thousands who have themselves profited by listening to his sermons and addresses. He may indeed be called the Father of children's missions, which were almost unknown before his time. He had a way of putting before children the Great Truths, which at the same time impressed their imaginations and won their hearts, and his personal gentleness and kindness and knowledge of child-nature made them flock to his confessional and tell him all their sins and troubles with the greatest confidence and simplicity. Only once, says Father Livius, was a child ever known to be frightened of him in the confessional, and the story is such an amusing one that we must quote it:

Father Furniss wore artificial teeth. A little girl came to him and was about to make her confession, when perhaps for some momentary convenience, he proceeded to take out his teeth, first the plate from the upper jaw, then that from his lower jaw. Meanwhile the little penitent gazed on the operation with astonishment and awe; and then seemingly

<sup>1</sup> *Father Furniss and his Work for Children.* By the Rev. T. Livius, C.S.S.R. London: Art and Book Co.

struck with horror, thinking perhaps that the next thing he would do, would be to take out his eyes, or take off his head altogether—with a scream she fled from the sight and ran to her parents' home. For some time she could not be prevailed upon to return to the church, and the thought of attempting confession again quite appalled her. However, in the end she was brought to a better mind.<sup>1</sup>

No one knew child-nature better than Father Furniss, or was more loved by the little ones, and we doubt whether any topic on which he dwelt won more of them to God than that which has earned for him so much abuse from men like Dean Farrar and others, who spread abroad the pernicious and false doctrine of "eternal hope."

Father Livius has given us a simple and unpretending little sketch of Father Furniss' life and labours, and we hope it will serve to keep alive the memory of the great work done by this faithful servant of God.

### Literary Record.

#### I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

M. Joly's series, entitled *Les Saints* (Victor Lecoffre), is making considerable progress, both in its original French form and in the English translation, published by Messrs. Duckworth and Wallace, which Father Tyrrell, S.J., is editing. We have before us now *Lives of St. Henry, St. Ignatius, St. Stephen of Hungary, St. Dominic, and St. Jerome*, in the French; and in the English translations *St. Clotilde, and St. Vincent of Paul*. It is to the very number of these little volumes, in itself so acceptable a fact, that our delay in noticing them must be ascribed, for the few pages we can afford for notices of books are sadly over-taxed. We have, however, expressed our sympathy with a series which seeks to handle the lives of the saints after a method which is careful neither to resolve the supernatural into the natural nor the natural into the supernatural, but remembers always that if the saints were prodigies of divine grace, they are also men and women of the same mould as ourselves. The series deserves to be recommended, and we are pleased to see from the reviews that it is receiving a warm welcome.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 77, 78.

Father J. L. Neil, O.P., brought out his *Jerome Savonarola* (Callanan, Boston) some months back, and he has since published a little book entitled *When, how, or what we ought to read*. The Savonarola question has recently been discussed abundantly by Dr. Pastor and others, and we have no wish to embroil ourselves in so contentious a subject. But, whatever his faults in some particulars, Savonarola stands out as one of the grand characters and zealous apostles of the Church, and Father Neil's little account of him will be welcomed by many. He has also given us some good illustrations. The scene of execution from a sixteenth century painting is specially interesting. The little volume on Reading contains much good and practical advice for parents and young persons of either sex.

The translation from the German of the *Life of Sister Anne Katherine Emmerich* has been before the English Catholic public for a good many years past. We are not aware whether it is still in print. Messrs. Benziger now publish a translation from the French edition. It is impossible not to wish to know something of the life of one whose Meditations on the Passion present such a curious problem to reflective minds.

Two lives of *St. Anthony of Padua*, one by Father Leopold de Cherancé, O.S.F.C. (Washbourne), the other by the Rev. Thomas Ward of Brooklyn (Benziger), are before us. The American life has the advantage of some excellent reproductions of old pictures, chiefly of the Saint's miracles. But Father Leopold, as becomes a Franciscan author, gives us much more of the Saint whom Leo XIII. called "the Saint of the World." This second life is translated by Father Marianus, O.S.F.C., of Crawley, Father Anselm adding a Preface and an Appendix.

*Child Abel*, by Claud Nicholson (George Allen), is the story of a very weird child, whose affections are stunted in their growth by the neglect shown it by its parents. Under such influence Abel becomes distrustful of every one. On his mother's premature death the child is sent to live with an old uncle who is a village *curé*. Gradually, and as the result of much patience on the part of the priest-uncle and his house-keeper, he discovers that there are people in the world whose kindness towards others is disinterested. It is just when this discovery is made by Abel that the story breaks off. It is a pity that the author has not given an appropriate finish to his tale,

for his description of French life in a country village is graphic and interesting.

*Let no man put asunder*, by Josephine Marie (Benziger), is a prettily told story of which the object is to set forth the power of the Sacrament of Matrimony to bless a union which was not happy in its original formation.

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## II.—MAGAZINES.

*Some contents of foreign Periodicals :*

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KATHOLISCHE THEOLOGIE (I. 1899).

The Eschatology of the Pseudo-Dionysius. *J. Stiglmayr*.  
Dogma and the Origin of Language. *Franz Schmid*.  
John von Paltz on Sorrow and Indulgences. *Dr. N. Paulus*. On Philippians ii. 5—11. *J. B. Nisius*.  
Reviews, &c.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA. (January 7 and 21.)

Catholicism at the close of the Nineteenth Century. Suppose a Relic is not Authentic, what then? Evolution and Dogma. An Italian Professor in Palestine. The Problem of Emigration and the Italian Parliament. The Artisan and Modern Economics. Archaeology. Reviews, &c.

The ÉTUDES (January 5 and 20.)

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